Lal And Her Vaakh

An Encyclopeadic Collection

Kashmiri Text and
English Translation of
All Vaakhs Attributed to
Lal Dyad to Date

R L Bhat

Lal And Her Vaakh

An Encyclopeadic Collection

Shiti Kantth is the first poet of Kashmiri. His Mahaanai Prakaash is a treatise of profound philosophical vaakhs, preserved in its original form to this day. Shiti Kantth is known to just a few people, among the literate Kashmiris. In sharp contrast stands the next poet Lal – Lal Dyad, Lalu' Maa'j, Laleeshvarii. She is the first people's poet of Kashmiri language.

Lal is known and loved for her vaakh. That is how we know of her; save her vaakh, we know next to nothing about Lal. Yet we have many tales, in fact too many tales, of her activities, most of which got 'known' during the last two centuries. One author conjured up seven rebirths for her. Some had her feed and lead, poets born long after her. Others had her debate subtleties with seers who came to Kashmir, decades after her death.

This is as good a measure of her appeal as one could get. But it is a tricky tract. With her vaakh as the sole link to Lal, the body of vaakh is as important, as the poet herself. With her vaakh became so popular that it was a test of poetic prowess. Poets, in the centuries following her, wrote vaakh, most after a line or so of hers. Lalu' vaakh become a genre of sorts. It also confounded Lal with extraneous poesies, whether good or bad, polluting her vaakh.

This work is an attempt to reach Lal. That route lies through her vaakh. Here one must first see what has been given out as the body of her vaakh. Next, it has to be sifted for the real Lal. Some are easily told for not being genuine. Most are difficult. This would be a long journey. This book collates all 'vaakhs of Lal' and puts them in order of appearance. It gives the original Kashmiri text, in English alphabet in a reader-friendly modification, the Rationalized Roman for Kashmiri (RRK), devised by R L Bhat. It also provides a succinct translation of the vaakhs. It also indexes the vaakhs, as per the source and antiquity.

Lal And Her Vaakh

Lal And Her Vaakh

An Encyclopeadic Collection

Kashmiiri Text
and
English translation
of all vaakhs
attributed to
Lal Dyad
to date

R L Bhat

Gulshan
BOOKS
Residency Road, Srinagar, Kashmir, India

Lal And Her Vaakh: An Encyclopeadic Collection

R L Bhat

Gulshan Books 2015

ISBN: 978-81-8339-291-4

Gulshan BOOKS

Residency Road, Srinagar-190001, Kashmir, India

www.gulshanbooks.com

For orders and customer service enquiries: gulshanpub@rediffmail.com

Published by Sheikh Ajaz for Gulshan Books

email: chairmangulshan@gmail.com

Distributors:

Sheikh Mohammad Usman & Sons

Booksellers, Publishers and Distributors

Residency Road, Srinagar-190001, Kashmir.

Branch Office:

Madina Chowk, Exchange Road, Srinagar-190001, Kashmir.

Dedicated
to
the
younger generations
of
Kashmiri speakers
and
the elder critics

Contents

RRK scheme
Used for transcribing
Kashmiri

Please note that RRK rejects the irrational use of vowels in English language as that of 'e' (as in words **cede, sale, finale, pine**), **ee** (as in **seed**) **o** (as in words **so, bone, women**), **oo** (as in words **brooch, book, fool**), **u** (as in words **put, but**), along with the irrational vowel combinations (as in words f**oe**, b**eau**, **oh**, s**ew**, m**auve**, phar**aoh**, fur**lough**, **yeo**man for rendering the 'o' sound).[1] RRK uses each alphabet or alphabet combination for a single sound as per the principles outlined below.

VOWELS

The complete RRK vowel repertoire for writing Kashmiri is:

a	a'	e	i	o	u	u'	y-
aa	aa'	ee	ii	oo	uu	uu'	-y
		ai		av	w		

I. Vowels **a, i, u** are used for the short sounds as in '**akh, tim, gur**' while their doublings **aa, ii, uu**, denote the longer counterparts as in '**aakh, tiil, guur**'.

II. '**e**' denotes the short sound as in the English words 'met, set' and Kashmiri words '**beni, teli**' etc.

III. '**ee**' denotes the sound as in words **reel, kheel**, '**ai**' denotes its Dev Nagri counterpart as in words **ṭtai** (*tie*), **khai** (*rust*).

1 Rationalised Roman for Kashmiri, 2013, R L Bhat, Substance Publishers, Jammu

IV. '**o**' denotes the short sound as in words **son** *deep*, **bon** *heap*, **dod** *burned*, and '**w**' the variant sound in words '**swn** *gold*, **bwn** *below*, **dwd** *milk*'

V. '**oo**' gives the longer sound as in words koott, shootth; '**av**' gives the sound as in the Hindi word '**avshad**' *medicine*.

VI. '**ya**' denotes another slightly variant short sound, the so-called '*dyadu' yayuk*', as in words **dyad, ryath** etc.

VII. '**y**' at the end position, following a consonant, denotes palatalization of the consonant as in **kuly, shury** while following a vowel 'y-' gives the normal consonant 'ya' sound as in chaay – tea. The 'y' here i.e. following a vowel is in the consonant usage – *halanted* if alone and *svared* if followed by a vowel: *Chaay an. Chaayi traav nuun. Chaayii chamav az.*

VIII. Apostrophe (') is used to denote the centralization in mid-high [**a'** (a'chh *eye*) and **aa'** (aa'tth, *eight*)] and higher-mid (**u'** (tu'r *strip*), **uu'** (tuu'r *chill*)) vowels.

For ease of usage and application, these RRK vowels or *svars* may be summed up into two groups:

a. *Svars* (vowels) similar to those of Hindi/Urdu:

a – akh (*one*)	**i - tim** (*they*)	**u – gur** (*horse*)	**ee – reel** (*rail*)	**oo – soon** (*ours*)
aa – aakh (*you came*)	**ii - tiil** (*oil*)	**uu – guur** (*cowherd*)	**ai – khai** (*rust*)	**av-avshad** (*medicine*)

b. Additional *svars* (vowels) used in Kashmiri:

a'- a'chh (*eye*)	**u'- tsu'ni** (*charcoal*)	**e – beni** (*sister*)	**w – swn** (*gold*)	**y - kuly** (*trees*)
aa'- aa'tth (*eight*)	**uu'- tsuu'n** (*powder*)	**ya – zyav** (*tongue*)	**o – son** (deep)	

CONSONANTS

The consonant repertoire of English alphabet as per RRK is based on the following principles:

I. Letters of the Roman alphabet (except X which has not been used here) denote the respective sounds in *halant* form, i.e. without the vowel added

II. RRK fixes one specific sound for each alphabet and does not allow polynomial/polyphonic usage as is in vogue in English.

III. '**k**' is used to denote all the sounds corresponding to it. 'q' may be used to distinguish the '*qaaf*' sounds, if insisted upon in words of Persio-Arabic origin. It may be mentioned that that the sound of *qaaf* as it is spoken in Arabic is same as the ka sound of Dev Nagari alphabet. It is the Persian *kiif* sound, which is produced at the back of tongue and is different from both.

IV. Letter 'c' alone is not used for any sound. **ch** gives the sound as in the English word '**child**' and Kashmiri word chaay (*tea*). Addition of 'h' gives its aspirated counterpart '**chh**' as in the Kashmiri word '**chhaan** (*carpenter*).

V. '**t, d**' are used for the soft sound '**t**-taf', '**d**-daal'only while doubling of **t, d** i.e. **tt** and **dd,** is used to denote the hard counterparts as in Kashmiri words **tt**-ttook, **dd**-ddool;

VI. '**h**' added to **t,** and **tt,** gives aspirated sound **th**-thuur *heel,* **tth**-tthuul *egg,*

VII. Letters '**ts**' and '**tsh**' denote the additional consonant sounds used in Kashmiri words **tsuur** (*thief*), **tshaavul** (*he-goat*).

Accordingly, the RRK repertoire of the English alphabet for rendering the consonant sounds of Kashmiri is as follows:

<u>b</u> bor	<u>ch</u> chaay	<u>chh</u> chhaan	<u>d</u> daag
<u>dd</u> ddaanb	<u>f</u> fol	<u>g</u> gol	<u>h</u> hol
<u>j</u> jin	<u>k</u> katth	<u>kh</u> khar	<u>l</u> lob
<u>m</u> mot	<u>n</u> naag	<u>p</u> pakh	<u>r</u> rakh

s sakh	sh shakh	t tomul	th thaf
tt ttaas	tth tthaasun	ts tsaas	tsh tshakh
v vaakh	y yaar	z zaath	

Please note:

a)Most of the additional consonants in RRK used for writing Kashmiri are similar to those used for writing Hindu/Urdu. These are ch, chh, dd, kh, sh, th, tt, tth,

ch- chaay *(tea)*	**d** - dood *(illness)*	**k**-kar *(do)*	**t** - taaf *(sun-light)*	**tt** - ttaal *(pile)*
chh- ch-haan *(carpenter)*	**dd** - ddool *(drum)*	**kh**-khar *donkey)*	**th** - thuur *(ankle)*	**tth** - tthuul *(egg)*

b)Three additional consonants are used in RRK for writing Kashmiri. These are **ts** and **tsh** as shown below:

ts - tsaar (choose), tsoor *(chose)* tsor (extra), tsa'r (sparrow), tsuu'n (powder),

tsh - tshaar (search for), tshoor *(searched out)*, tshor (empty), tshaandd/tshaa'ndd

'z' is used for the sound as in zoo

c) RRK uses 'ii' for the longer sound of 'i' **(piir, siir, Jahangiir)** and not 'ee', which denotes a single sound as in words '**beeg**' *(bag)*, **leekh** (*write*) and not the multiple sounds as in English spellings.

d) 'oo' denotes the a single sound that of 'oa' in coat, boat (**gool**-*round* , **mool**-*father*, **ttook**) and '**uu**' denotes the longer version of 'u' sound (**guur, puur, vuuntth**)

f) 'e' and 'o' (as in Kashmiri words **beni** *sister*, **bon** *heap*) to denote the shorter counterparts of 'ee' and 'oo'

g) **w** is used to render another variant of 'o' sound in Kashmiri, the schwa sound in Kashmiri words **swn** *gold*, **bwn** *below*.

The Quest of Lal

Lal Dyad or Laleeshvarii is the first significant poetess of Kashmiri, who remains the foremost poet in Kashmiri poetica, seven centuries down the line. Jayalal Kaul, the leading modern researcher on Lal, puts her life span between 1310 to 1370, CE give or take a few years. historical traditions hold that Lal died during the reign of Shahaabudiin (1354–1373CE).

Lal wrote, in quartets, known as *vaakh*. Derived from the Sanskrit, '*vakya*' – an axiom – *vaakhs* are four liners, with the general a-b-c-b scheme, though it is the intraline rhythm rather than the interline rhyming that distinguishes the poetry going by the name *Lalu' vaakh* or the *vaakh* of Lal Dyad. Lalu' Vakyaanii is the name used most commonly for collections of her verses. Pithy beauty, universalism of the ideas and an innate incisiveness characterize the *vaakhs* of Lal, and give them undying appeal.

It is by the *vaakh* and the definitive 'Lal' contained in most of them that we know of the existence of Laleeshvarii. To date a total of 277 *vaakhs* have been attributed to Lal, most of them 'discovered' in the 20TH century. For nearly four centuries after her death, Lal lived in the folk memory of Kashmir through these pristine creations hers. 300 years after her death we had the first intimations of her in Persian *tazkiras*, obviously culled from this folk fund with all the accompanying accretions.

Laleeshvarii Vaakyaanii, the first collection of the 60 *vaakhs* of Lal Dyad was made by Bhaaskar Raazdaan in the first quarter of 18TH century of the Christian era. The next collection, by the well known linguist G A Grierson, came nearly two centuries later, in the first quarter of 20TH century CE. His compilation, incorporating the collection of Bhaskar Raazdaan and an informal gathering of vaakhs of Lal by M A Stein, carried 110 *vaakhs*.

Called Lalu' Vaakyaanii, in a cryptic clipping of Bhaaskar's title, it had another 23 *vaakhs* added as appendix. Over the next half a century or so, many people complied, collected, discovered, more *vaakhs* of Lal. The trend continues. The final edition of Lal Dyad of Jayalal Kaul contains a total of 258 *vaakhs*.

A singular feature of the *vaakhs* of Lal is their deep spiritual content. This has made the commentators to exclusively focus on the spiritual import of *lalu' vaakh*. Less emphasis was laid on the text of the *vaakhs*. Changing a word here and there to supplement the deemed import was not frowned upon by the interpretative compilers; often it was seen as a 'discovery' in itself.

With their emphasis on interpretation, the compilers considered every *vaakh* which could lend itself to spiritual intimation a genuine Lal Vaakh. The result was, for instance, that not only did Grierson consider *daman basti ditoo dam...*, a genuine *vaakh* of Lal, but even included the proverbial *lali nilu'vatth tsali nu' zanh* in the genre.

Indeed, the long centuries following Lal would have seen *vaakhs* of many poets, enter the body of Lalu' *vaakh*. A very telling example is the three *vaakhs* – said to be of her husband, her guru and her self, riding all compilations unquestioned. By definition itself two of these are not of Lal. The third, coming as a response would also become doubtful. Yet, they sit pretty as the ultimate testimony of Lal having surpassed her master and her mentor.

A most disconcerting feature of the majority of *vaakhs* attributed to Lal is the language of the *vaakhs*. Rwpabhavaanii, (d. 1800CE), had the good fortune of having her *vaakhs* recorded as they were

uttered. Here, four hundred years after Lal, we encounter a tongue, remarkably quaint for today's Kashmiri. Only the *vaakhs* compiled by Bhaaskar Raazdaan and a few *vaakhs* here and there carry this old-world diction.

Shiti Kantth's *mahaanai prakaasha,* identified as the first work in Kashmiri language, is so quaint that only a few words—the syntactical formations and the auxillaries are identifiable as distinctly Kashmiri, the rest being all Sanskrit. That is natural, as Kashmiri as a tongue was taking shape around that time. *Mahaanai prakaasha* had the good fortune of being written by the author himself and preserved. So had Bhatta Avtaar's *sukh dukh charit.* It was written a full century after Lal.

Living and *vaakhifying* between the two, Lal could not have said so modern a *vaakh* as *'naabu'dy baaras...'* or *'aami panu' sa'dras...* for that matter. Baaskar Raazdaan's compilation does not carry either of these, now seen as quintessence *Lalu' Vaakh.* When we come to clear bell-ringing *vaakhs* like *'Shiv tu' sheetaan vuchhum a'kisu'y shayee'* or *'moo zaan hyoond tai musalmaan', ka'limai porum to ka'limai sorum,* and scores like these, the suspicion of spuriousness cannot be dismissed.

Whether intentional or inadvertent, the interpolation of a single word is enough to change the import of the vaakh and make the text suspect. When the whole content and connotation gets supplanted, it is difficult to maintain that the intent of the poet has not been compromised. As a rough rule, any *vaakh* carrying a modern word, a changed expression, a construct unfamiliar to Lal's time etc., must all be seen as doubtful, in that the original import couldn't but have suffered as a result. Persian words, Suufii terminology and Semitic constructs would be shouting red-herrings, here.

One of the factors in understanding Lal Dyad is the historical context. Often this has been misconstrued even mis-stated. Joonaraaja, the earliest historian of the post-Kalhana era gives the names of the sons of Shahmiir (Shahmeera) as Jyamshara and Aleeshvara. The sons of Aleeshvara, later Alaavudiin, are called Shrishaattaka and Hindaala/Kudaadiina. Shrishaattakaa is later

called Shihaabudiin and his brother Kudaadiina. Later Persian historians persianise the name to Kutubudiin.

The Persian names could easily have been written in the Shaardaa script in which Jonaraja, the first historian after Kalhana Pandit, wrote. He wrote the forms that had been in vogue, in their own time and in the reign of Zainul-Aabdiin (1420–1470). Timor taking Zainul-Aabdiin in ransom for the good conduct of his father Sikandar Shah, has now been disproved.

Zainul-Aabdiin introduced Persian in Kashmir, about a century after Lal. Sayyids from Iran began entering Kashmir, towards the latter half of Kudaadeena's reign (1373–1389), especially the reign of his son Shringaar, infamous as Sikandar, the iconoclast. Lal had seen none of these developments. All these developments took place after Lal and were unknown to her.

Then there is the case of the *vaakhs* of post-Lal poets. *Vaakh* and *vatsun* were the main genres in vogue till the late 19TH century. Kashmiri poems of the mid-16TH century poet Hubii, are *vatsuns*. Poets after Lal, would've written either *vaakhs* or *vatsuns*. The time was not so personalized as ours is. Poets would've been happy to see their compositions passing off as *vaakhs* of Lal. It would've been the greatest recognition.

They would've used Lal as a metaphor or invocation in their utterances. The better *vaakhs* would have survived, and their non-Lal origin forgotten. Such pieces would have replicated the ideations of Lal, may have even improved upon the themes, for anything baser would've been booed out. This context must remain in mindscape in examining the *vaakhs* of Lal.

Lal, as mentioned above, is known primarily through her *vaakh*. Here, the traditional attribution is all the more important. While Lal has dominated the Kashmiri mind since her time, the first recorded intimations came only towards the end of 17TH century in stray references to her *vaakh* in Persian translation. The first authentic record came in 18TH century in the form of Bhaaskar Raazdaan's *Laleeshvarii Vaakyaanii*. Another two centuries passed before 60 more

vaakhs of Lal were discovered or distilled from the folk memory and added to Bhaaskar's compilation. And then, the deluge!

We today are submerged in the *vaakh*-sea inundating the Lalscape. The first task here is to find a way out to Lal, the pristine poet. In the flood of published collections, of which there are dozens now, all *vaakhs* that have the word Lal in it, have been included. At times this name is clearly metaphorical. Then, all that 'looks' like Lal is advocated to be Lal.

At times, even the *vaakh* form is not insisted upon, with people attributing every quaint looking verse to her. Here, the meaning, the import and intimation has become more important than the basic veracity of the text. Indeed, of the scores of writers on Lal, Jayalal Kaul is the first and probably the only one who paid attention to the veracity of the text. In the final edition of his work Lal Dyad he segregated 140 *vaakhs* as genuine Lal and put the rest in the doubtful category. His English work, carries only 138 *vaakhs*.

Kaul's categorization has not been questioned, though it has not informed the later writers much. There is little mention of it in the subsequent evaluations and interpretations, critical or interpretative. The work begun by Kaul has not been carried forward. A maltreatment Kaul imposed upon the *vaakhs* was his attempt to arrange the genuine *vaakhs* in what was supposed to delineate the ascent of the saint-poet Lal.

Parimo fashioned a whole work called Ascent of Self on this very quest, without acknowledging, as per Kaul, his effort and without regard to the genuineness of the *vaakh* attempted by Kaul. Thus, the first *vaakh* in Parimo's work is not a *vaakh*, not at all of Lal, but is the proverb *hondd maa'rytan yaa katth....* Now, this is a stupendous task - charting the spiritual progression of a poet about whose birth, death and the text, nothing can be stated with any definitiveness.

Another endeavour has been to read whole policies and politics, even solutions for the present problems, in Lal without being definitive about her *vaakh*. P N Pushp 'discovered' *ka'limai porum tu'*

ka'limai sorum... and declared it to be Lal's message of Hindu-Muslim unity to her fellow citizens in early 14TH century CE, when, as per Taariikhi Sayyid Alii, there was no ideation, imposition or presence of Muslims as a distinct class in Kashmir.

Though the first four kings of the Shahmiirii dynasty, under whose rule Lal spent the last two decades of her life, were technically Muslims, they carried Hindu names, married into Hindu families and lived, for all practical purposes, as Hindus of the land. None of these facts mattered in Prithvii Nath Pushp's motivated eagerness to found messages of communal harmony for his fellow countrymen of the mid-20TH century on Lal. The vaakhs of Lal have suffered greatly at the hands of these do-gooders.

In fact, most of the writings on Lal have been motivated or motivational. They rely on a body of *vaakh* much of which may be spurious and most of which is certainly interpolated. Yet, Lal is somewhere there in this body of *vaakh*. The first step towards understanding and assessing Lal is to sort out this jumble, or jungle going by the name of *Lalu' Vaakh*.

The first step here is a chorological re-assignment of the *vaakh*. The ascents are a deflector while the commentaries should come later. Though certainty is impossible here, the highest credibility would go to Bhaaskar Raazdaan's collection. Then comes Grierson's collection, but it has to be sifted. The later collections have to be examined more critically. The task begun by Jayalal Kaul has to be carried forward with perspicacity.

Every interpolation is a violation of the text. It carries the high possibility of having subverted the text. These need to be identified and registered. The *vaakhs* sifted out by Kaul with the residues from Grierson and subsequent collections would form the next clutch and must be noted as highly doubtful. These *vaakhs* must be looked upon as doubtful until concrete evidence of their genuineness, either internally or externally, emerges.

This calls for a revision of some fond evaluations. This is fraught with strange problems. People are loath to read out *aami panu' sa'dras*.... Some are scared of the Shaivist thought becoming

predominant. Yet others would be wary of revising their 'hard researched' theses. None may be criticized here. All may have worked with sincere intents, if with misplaced zeal. It is the combined effort of this great body of writers, researchers and interpreters that have brought Lal to life. However, the quest for Lal should not be an agenda for politically correct and socially acceptable theory-mongering. Lal is what she is, not what we may want her to be. Our task is to discover her troth.

Like most of my writings, this work too evolved out of serious thought. Perusing the presentation of Lal, by writers, critics and compilers, one was struck by the discord with they lived with. Studying the Lal Dyad number of Kooshur Samaachaar, which put together some of the serious writers on Lal. I found that the writers spoke out of concerns which bore little relation to the realities. My own reading experience has shown that more often writers are loath to take unconventional even corrective views into consideration. We'll take just one example, here.

The Shahi Hamdaan Number of the JKAACL journal *shiiraaza* (Urdu) carries a well researched article which proves that Miir Sayyid Alii Hamdaanii came to Kashmir only once, in 1384 CE and left after a short stay of either 40 days or a few months. This is a not a surprising discovery but what the early historical accounts conclusively state. The writer also points out that his three visits is an invention or fiction of modern times, not older than two centuries, born out of confused reading of one of the chronograms, which in any case are rarely accurate.

The 'three-visits' has led to 'discovery' of actions and events that never took place. one is his arbitrating the fate of Feerooz Tagluk, which itself may be an imagined event. The number of visits, rather correcting the imagined three visits is a vital point, here. Much of what is said about Sayyid Alii Hamdaanii arises from the premise of three-visits and his inferred stay in Kashmir. Yet, none of the writers there, including the editor, heed it. They write with the three-visits in mind and dole out further 'facts' based on them. Few writers have taken note of this vital fact, since.

Nothing is known about the life of Lal, how, where and when she lived. Only her place and age can be assumed with some certainity. Nothing else is known, though tales about her being, life, travails and travels are legend. People first mention these as anecdotes and then proceed to build fantastic details about all aspects of her life. Even this is not deemed enough. Fancy takes flights and presumptions of the social and political situation are made, all based on these tales. With the imagined scenarios in hand, the socio-political milieu too comes in for a goodly dissection.

While this fiction is given undeserving credibility, there is universal silence on the first vaakh poet of Kashmiri Shiti Kantth, who lived a full century before Lal. His work is fully preserved. His diction is as quaint as it must be given the fact that Kashmiri was evolving in that age. Somehow the interpolations in the vaakhs of Lal are used to postulate a novel history for Kashmiri language and its evolution.

Finding the Lal Dyad number of Kooshur Samaachaar filled with such inaccuracies, presumptions and assumptions about Lal and her age, this writer undertook a thorough study of the writing, line by line. I also examined other writing about Lal and found them struming in the same strain. When it was completed, it became clear that the actual vaakhs of Lal were an indiscriminate jungle, where genuineness was given the least importance.

The total vaakh fund attributed to Lal is a chaos, if not a virtual tragedy. While Jayalal Kaul had done pioneering work here, writers blissfully ignored his admonitions and continued to discover new vaakhs of Lal. 'Philosophy of Lal' is expounded on that spurious basis. The younger generations, who come to revere Lal as an icon of their culture, get confounded by the jumble of corrupt and interpolated body going by the name of *Lalu' Vaakh*.

All this prompted this writer to put aside the critical work and put together all the vaakhs attributed to Lal and present them in a way that would promote the quest of Lal and an appreciation of her truth. This work is the result.

This work was greatly facilitated by the manuscript of Bhaaskaraachaarya procured by dear friend Pradeep Koul Khodbaly from the Manuscript Library of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Poshkarji of Laa'ry Yaar, Traal, and K K Raina of Srinagar, were exceedingly generous with the copies of many compilations of *Lalu' Vaakh* in their possession. Sujiitji diligently saw this whole endeavour through its numerous revisions, recasting, and refurbishing as every evolving work entails.

There were no prior notions before taking up this work, save the need to search for the real Lal. It continues.

R L BHAT

Jammu,
Zeetthu' Aa'ttham, 2014

Lal And Her Age

Lal Dyad lived in the first half of the 14TH century. Professor Jayalal Koul, first in his English work Lal Ded[2] and later the Kashmiri work Lal Dyad[3], has comprehensively examined the historical evidence and arrived at her life span as extending from the 1ST/2ND decade to the seventh decade of 14TH century, approximating to 1310–1372 CE. This was a tumultuous age, especially the invasion of Dulacha in 1320 CE and the terror-some rule of Rinchana 1320-23CE. Though followed by the long reigns of Udayana Deeva 1323-39, it saw another upheaval in Shahmiir overthrowing Koottaa Deevii and usurping the kingship. Then came the protracted warfare between Shahmiir's sons Jyamshara and Aleeshvara. After overthrowing his elder brother, Alaavudiin ruled for about a decade.

In his work *Vaakaati Kashmiir* (VK), Muhammad Azm Dyadama'ry tells that Lal achieved prominence during the rule of Alaavudiin's rule, i.e. the 5TH decade of 14TH century.[4] Shahaabudiin was the next ruler, whose reign is praised by Joonaraaja for peace, stability and resurgence of cultural activities. This was the age when Lal attained her iconic status. Later, Dyadama'ry tells that Lal died during the rule of Shihaabudiin.[5] A particularly indicative episode of Shahaabudiin's rule (1354-1373 CE) is his proposing to his minister Udayashrii to melt the *muurtii* of Shrii Jayeeshvarii. Udaya Shrii agrees and then the king reprimands his minister for agreeing to

2 Jayalal Kaul, 1973, Lal Ded, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, pages 4-9 and 21-24
3 Jayalal Kaul, 1983, Lal Dyad, 3RD Edition, JKAACL, Srinagar, pages
4 *Vaakaati Kashmir*, Muhammad Azm Dyadama'ry, Persian text, 1937, Nuur Muhammad and Sons, Srinagar, page 34
5 *Vaakaati Kashmir* (VK), *ibid.*, page 35

his proposal. The episode tells much about the religion and belief of the age. The main points in this episode as given by Joonaraaja[6] are:

1. Shahaabudiin gets infatuated with Laasaa, the daughter of his queen Lakshmi's sister.
2. Laasaa, to get at her aunt, complains that Lakshmi used *Vyabhachaara* - the chanting of *mantras* - through Udayashrii to harm her.
3. Shahaabudiin counters her saying that it can't be so as Udayashrii is not a very religious person.
4. To prove his point, he calls Udayashrii and suggests that the treasury has become empty because of the military campaigns undertaken by the king and that they need to melt the *muurtii* of Shrii Jayeeshvarii to mint money.
5. Udayashrii agrees but suggests that they break the bigger *muurtii* of *Brihat Buddha*.
6. His point proved, Shahaabudiin asks Udayashrii to meet him alone.
7. There he severely admonishes Udayashrii for agreeing to his sacrilegious proposal.

Persian historians have not reported this event with its full context. *Taariiikhi Sayyid Alii*[7] (TSA), *Bahaaristaani Shaahii*[8] (BS), *Taariikhi Haidar Malik Chaadduurah*[9] (THMC) and *Vaakaati Kashmiir*, make no mention of it.[10] Neither does the late 19TH century work *Taariikhi Hasan* (TH) mention it though it carries most of the events in Joonaraaja's Raajatranginii.[11] They do not speak of Laasaa, or the queen Lakshmii, either. Instead, they speak of Shahaabudiin having destroyed the temples at Bijbihaarah, with both BS and VK announcing that he intended to extirpate the whole of *kufur* from the land (*loc. cit.*).

6 Srikanth Kaul, 1967, Rajtarangini of Joonaraaja (RTJ), Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, *sh.* 426-37
7 Taariikhi Kashmiir by Sayyid Alii (TSA), Persian text, 1993, Research Deptt., J&K Government, Srinagar, pages 6-8
8 Bahaaristaani Shaahii, English tr. K N Pandita, 1991, Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, pages 31-34
9 Taariikhi Haidar Malik Chaadduurah, Persian text given in History of Kashmir, the English translation by Razia Bano, 1991, Bhavana Prakashan, New Delhi, pages 52-54
10 VK, Persian text, Srinagar, page 34
11 Taariikhi Hasan, Piir Hasan Khoyihaamii, Persian text, 1956, Published by Research Deptt., J&K Govt., Srinagar, vol 2, pages 171-174

GMD Suufii, in his work *Kashiir,* focuses on this episode to prove that Shihaabudiin was a tolerant king. Twisting the details in his characteristic fashion, Suufii writes: Shihaab-ud-Din's indignation at the suggestion of Udayashrii, his prime minister, to melt the brass image of Brihadbuddha and coin the metal into money is eloquent of the tolerant character of his rule".[12] sixty years after Suufii, the modern historian A Q Rafiqi, selectively quotes Joonaraaja to press the same point saying that 'Udayashri suggested' to the sultan to destroy the 'image of great Buddha' and to convert it 'into money'" and that the sultan reprimanded him.[13]

These modern historiographers, aware of Joonaraaja's full account, have twisted the details to paint Shihaabudiin as tolerant king. They also denounce the Persian chroniclers for speaking of his temple breaking activities. Had Suufii and Rafiqi reported the full version of Joonaraaja regarding this and other details of the rule of the early Shahmiiriis, they would not have had to twist the account to prove that these early Shahmiirii kings were not religious fanatics. Joonaraaja's account of the early Shahmiirii kings upto Kudadeena makes it clear that they did not seek to disturb the social or religious lives or force islamisation. For these first forty years or so of Shahmiiri rule, Kashmir remained as it was, the ways, manners and religion continuing as of old. The episode proves it. As an indication of the social history it tells many things:

a. The royal house-hold, loves and administration in Shahaabudiin's reign are all Hindu.

b. Temples are flourishing all over, replete with valuable icons fit for a king's treasury.

c. Even the thought of desecrating a *muurtii* is revolting, in that age and era.

d. This is definitive proof that Udayashrii had not converted to Islaam. Had he converted, he would not have been accused by Laasaa in the first place of practicing *mantras* against her. Again, the test Shahaabudiin applies to placate

12 GMD Suufii, *Kashiir,* Ali Muhammad and Sons, Srinagar, reprint 2008, Vol. I, page 139
13 A Q Rafiqi, 2008, History of Kashmir (HoK), Gulshan Books, Srinagar, page 27

Laasaa would've been pointless had Udayashrii not been a Hindu. The whole argument of Shahaabudiin revolves around Udayasharii being a Hindu but not an orthodox one.

Lal lived in this age. It was an age of turbulences, spaced by peace and prosperity. More importantly, the society was all Hindu/Buddhist. Though Muslim kings were at the helm, their court and house-hold, the religion and society at large and the social *milieu* were still the same.

Hindu rule in Kashmir ceased in 1339 CE and the land came to be ruled by a Muslim king. Though there has been a concerted attempt by later Persian historians to convert Rinchana to Islam and begin the Muslim rule in Kashmir with him, the contention has not carried, because it does not bear historical authenticity. The greatest evidence is that Joonaraaja does not give any indication of it.[14] In an ironic twist, the later day historians of Kashmir first assumed that Rinchana had converted to Islam and then began to accuse Joonaraaja of not reporting it and hiding something that they had themselves invented. Rafiqi joins the train of fantasy in his peculiarly contorted way; on one hand, he says that Rinchana had no need to covert thus refuting half the myth apparently and on the other supports half of it by accusing Joonaraaja of lying.[15]

Historians generally begin the Muslim rule in Kashmir with the end of Kootta Deevii's reign and Shahmiir, or Shamsudiin as he later chose to call himself[16], capturing the throne of Kashmir. As per Joonaraaja it happened in the 15TH year Lavkik (4415SE = 1339CE)[17]. Some chroniclers put the year as 1340CE. *Taariikhi Sayyid Alii*, (TSA) the first Persian chronicle, does not say anything about it. TSA does not speak of the times when there was no Muslim presence worth the name in Kashmir. It begins with the entry of Sayyids into Kashmir, towards the end of the rule of the 4TH Shahmiirii king Shahaabudiin.[18] His rule began in 1354CE.[19]

14 RTJ, *sh.*, 174 - 220
15 Rafiqi, HoK, page 20
16 RTJ, *sh.*, 310
17 RTJ, *sh.*, 306
18 TSA, Persian text, page 1
19 RTJ, *sh.*, 359;

Muslim rule in Kashmir is conventionally begun with Shahmiir the first Muslim to occupy the throne in Kashmir. It, however, is not the Islamisation, which it is generally implied to represent. This has led to countless assumptions and presumptions resulting in a distortion of the history itself. For example, Hasan while speaking of Shahaabudiin's founding Shahaabudiin Poorah assumes that 'he built a mosque and laid out a garden there'.[20] Joonaraaja has not said so or even given any hint of it.[21] Joonaraaja also speaks of the city built by Lavla Ddaamara there, which going by his description[22] excelled that of the king in grandeur.

Joonaraaja speaking of the lofty edifices in what he calls Lavlapurii, there says that they put the shiny sun to shame.[23] Persian historians roundly ignore this. Raghunath Singh proceeding with the same assumption calls every minister and commander of Shahmiir and his sons Muslims[24], when the details of their names and practices given by Joonaraaja, right upto Sikandar's reign[25] make it clear that they were Hindus. Shahaabudiin's wife Lakshami was a Hindu. Joonaraaja gives the name of her father as Avtaara, the Bhulla Brahmin.[26] The king built a town Lakshmii Pur, named after the queen, below Haarii Parbat.[27] Lakshmii's niece Laasaa, who became an infatuation of Shahaabudiin, was a Hindu and continued to be so. The specious presumption that Kashmir instantly turned Muslim on Shahmiir occupying the throne has caused the whole age being seen as predominantly Muslim. This presumption has had a deviant effect on understanding and interpreting Lal and her *vaakh*.

Writers on Lal assume that the world around Lal had turned Islamic and become a raging religious strife. Most people think and write as if Lal lived in an era with *mulaas* ruling the roost.[28] It was not so. That happened two centuries after her death. Hers was a tension-filled age, with invaders and rebellions around but not

20 TH, Persian text, Vol. II, page 174
21 RTJ, *sh.* 411
22 RTJ, *sh.*, 412
23 RTJ, *sh.*, 413
24 Raghu Nath Singh, *Raaja Tarangini of Joonaraaja*, Sanskrit text with Hindi translation, Chowkhamba Research Series, Vaaranasi, 1972, (Henceforth, RNS), page 265-66
25 RTJ, *sh.*, 541
26 RTJ, *sh.*, 418
27 RTJ, *sh.*, 410
28 cf. *Kooshur Samaachar*, Lal Dyad Special Issue, 1972, Kashmiri Samiti Delhi, New Delhi

religious strife, at least not the type generally assumed. There was little Muslim presence even two decades after her death, as Sayyid Alii tells us in TSA. In fact, so overwhelming is this assumption that this author too in an earlier write up had interpreted *vaakhs* of Lal in this light. Deeper study has shown that it wasn't so. An allied corollary is that Lal had no need to press for any Hindu Muslim amity - it simply was not the issue while she lived!

The later Persian chroniclers postulating an instant Islamisation of Kashmir practically let their imaginations run riot. Why the modern historiography too has gone with that fancy-free presumption, is something the critical student cannot but ask. The impression generated by modern historians of Kashmir, including Parimo, Suufii, Kaul, Raghunath Singh and Rafiqi here, is that a huge social upheaval occurred on the night of the *dashmii* of *Shraavana shukla paksha* of the 15TH year Lavkik and that on the *eekaadashii* people woke up and found Kashmir had turned Muslim! This presumption is irrational. Nothing of the sort could happen. Nothing of the sort did happen. The state and government continued as before. As Rafiqi admits, 'Shah-Mir did not make any revolutionary changes in the political and administrative set up of the country'.[29] There was absolutely no change in the social set up of the country, for the time being. That 'time being' extended to five decades after Shahmiir.

In fact, Shahmiir becoming the king was not at all the beginning of Muslim Rule, in that sense. It was a change of the ruler, one like that of Rinchana becoming the king two decades earlier, or Udayana Deeva and then Kootta Deevii becoming rulers after his death. Yet the same Rafiqi, before admitting that nothing changed in Kashmir with Shahmiir occupying the throne, invokes many subjective causes for what he styles 'islamic rule', which would imply that Shahmiir was chosen king for his being a Muslim.[30] This is insidious, apart from being factually incorrect. Shahmiir was a Muslim; one 'who called *Iishvara* by the name *Allah*' as Joonaraaja puts it.[31] A king being a Muslim does not *per se* imply Islamisation.

29 Rafiqi, History of Kashmir, *ibid*, page 23
30 Rafiqi, HoK, page 16-18
31 RTJ, *sh.*, 247

It does not imply Islam becoming the religion of Kashmir. Those who facilitated Shahmiir, or were bought, bribed or bashed into aiding[32] him, did not do so to bring about an Islamic Rule in Kashmir. It was simply to put a particular person upon it, aid him in occupying it, without any reference to the Muslim religion or their liking for Islam.

Accordingly, the portrayal of Shahmiir's usurpation as replacement of the 'Hindu rule in crisis' by Islamic rule, as done, for example, by Rafiqi[33], is incorrect. As it is, Islam did not get promulgated in Kashmir, with Shahmiir becoming the king. The first signs of that imposition appeared forty years later, during the rule of Shahmiir's grandson, Kudadeena/Kutubudiin. Sayyid Alii writing about the state of Islam in Kashmir, during the reign of 5TH Shahmiirii king says: "Though Sultan Kutubudiin was Muslim by birth yet, firstly because the Muslim ways and manners were not well known in the realm and secondly, since all officers of the state were *mushriks*, he from the apprehension of national discord had molded himself so that no strife would ensue. Besides, they were not aware of the rules of *Shariyat*. Even as there were three or four mosques in the realm, none of them gave *Azaan* for *nimaaz* and none held the group (Friday) prayers."[34] This is in agreement with Joonaraja's description of his reign.

Shahmiir being a Muslim by faith was the most insignificant factor then. Shahmiir, during the whole of his three decades in Kashmir, had worked assiduously to make it an insignificant fact. Shahmiir being a Muslim was a sheer technicality, which did not matter at all, at least when it happened. Though later Persian histories have woven astounding fables, inventing even elaborate conversations, around Rinchana, Bulbul Shah and Shahmiir, there is absolutely no hint of Shahmiir being overly religious. Joonaraaja's description of Shahmiir and his sons and grandsons does not indicate that they were anyway different from the other Kashmiris. Kashmir, like the rest of the nation, has been a pluralist society.

32 RTJ, *sh.*, 258
33 Rafiqi, HoK, *ibid.*, pages 17-23
34 TSA, Persian text, page 13

People worshipping different deities and holding different views and creeds lived there.

This pluralism existed within single families, with one member worshipping Shiva, another Vishnu, yet another Buddha and so on. It was a very liberal society, accommodative and inclusive. Shahmiir just added another deity, another creed, to this variegated milieu. There was no discrimination, no animus and definitely no polarization on religious grounds there. Rinchana's occupation of the throne was not a religious issue. It was yet another demonstration that might is right, having little to do with the faith of the mighty one. Nobody saw his rise as a Buddhist rule. Even the fact that it was a non Kashmiri rule did not seem to matter.

Faith, the *aachaara* of the person including a ruler, did not matter there. It did not matter in the case of Rinchana. He used evil means to usurp the throne. He may have been criticized for his ingratitude and deceit but not his religion. He had sought entry into an esoteric cult. His rejection was limited to the cult. For the rest there was no animus, no rejection of his persona on the grounds of his race or religion. Rafiqi also admits that Rinchana had no need to convert to Hinduism.[35] He established his prowess and became king. His problems arose from personal enmity with his own Bwtta supporters.

Udayana Deeva, using these differences, brought about his end and ascended the throne. The only difference was that Udayana Deeva came of the indigenous stock. He was an indigenous Kashmiri but that does not seem to have made a huge difference. Only, prowess mattered. Joonaraaja does not speak of the rule returning to Kashmiris at Udayana Deeva's ascension. As long as he commanded power, he ruled. As long as his widow could command it, she ruled. When that prowess sat in Shahmiir's lap he came to rule. Religion - Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam - had little to do with it.

However, culture and way of living would've mattered in a subtle way. Shahmiir did nothing to disturb the social and

35 Rafiqi, HoK, page 20

religious fabric. Instead, he did all to be, or to show himself as, one of the Kashmiri milieu. He married his daughters to Hindus and took Hindu women in marriage. Except for the rape of Kootta Deevii which remains a huge blot on his persona, the marriages he contracted were normal affairs. Joonaraaja is quite emphatic that besides bribes, threats and other contrivances, Shahmiir used these marriages for political purposes. He bribed officers, ministers etc. not as a Muslim out to overturn the rule and enforce *nizaami mustafa* in Kashmir, but in furtherance of his quest for power. This situation continued till forty years after Shahmiir, when his grandson Kudadeena named his son Shringaara. It was turned into Sikandra, later.

Joonaraaja calls him the 'newly arisen power' - an 'upstart', in the present day lingua.[36] In no case, and at no place, did Shahmiir assert himself to be a Muslim pressing for a change, a new rule, a new dispensation, way or religion in Kashmir. Before marrying his daughters to Hindus, he had given his sons Hindu or Kashmiri sounding names. If this was a trick, Shahmiir gave no hint of it. Nor did the Hindus, including Joonaraaja, see it as pretence, though the historian does point to many of Shahmiir's acts being expediencies.

His friends, ministers, commanders were all Hindu, or let us say Kashmiri. So were his forces and those of his sons. Joonaraaja says that he assuaged the suspicions of his ministers, implying that he did nothing to overturn the system, the administration and the set up.[37] The armies of his sons and successors, Aleeshvara and Jyamsara, comprised of Bhattas and *raajasthaaniis*.[38] Jyamsara's ministers were Hindus.[39] Aleeshvara in a replay of the treachery used by his father to oust Koottaa Deevii, captured the capital with the aid of Sathya Raaja, a Hindu.[40] This name provides a typical example of the hind-sight islamisation that Persian historians have imposed on history of Kashmir. Like Udayashriii becoming Sheer Aadil, Sathya Raaja is turned into Siraaj and, finally, Siraaj Ul Diin.[41]

36 RTJ, *sh.*, 314
37 RTJ, *sh.* 312
38 RTJ, *sh.* 322
39 RTJ, *sh.* 327
40 RTJ, *sh.*, 338
41 Taariikhi Hasan, Persian text, Vol. II, page 170

As mentioned, these are later impositions; situation in the 14TH century was different. The primary supporters of Aleeshvara, later Alaavudiin, were Hindus, the same *raajasthaaniis* Shahmiir had chased out.[42] His son was named Sharshaattaka, as noted above. It was changed to Shihaabudiin, probably, at his ascension, following the practice of his father and grandfather, as that is how Joonaraaja calls him thereafter.[43] And, that is the only Islamic, if it can be called so, hint the king gives. His bosom friends Udaya Shrii and Chandra Ddaamara[44] continued to be his companions a decade later. Joonaraaja says: *his main ministers at home were Kootta Bhatta and Udai Shrii, while his armies were led by Chandra Ddaamara and Lavla.*[45] Two decades after Shahmiir's death, Sharkara Suha the Brahmin was still the high priest with Shahaabudiin.

Later, after Sayyids began to enter Kashmir, TSA tells that Sayyid Hasan, son of Taajudiin, became the commander of his forces.[46] Meanwhile, Shihaabudiin continued with Hindus all around him. His chief queen was Lakshamii, the daughter of Bhulla Brahmin. His infatuation Laasaa was the daughter of Lakshamii's sister. The queen had brought her up in the palace where she preyed upon her husband, the king. There is nothing in Joonaraaja to indicate that Lakshamii or her woe Laasaa had converted to Islam. That her sister allowed her daughter to live with Lakshamii, when she was still a child, shows the same thing. Later Laasaa gives evidence of the same fact, when she tells the king that Lakshamii has been using Udaya Shrii to have *mantras* chanted to harm her.[47]

This brings us to a rather ironic twist in the assumption-presumption game played upon this part of Kashmir history. As discussed elsewhere, this accusation should dispel any hint that Udaya Shrii had converted to Islam. It shows that he continued to be a Hindu, albeit one with a different outlook. Later, it is the Hindu minister Udayashrii, his Hindu mother Lakshmi and his Hindu

42 RTJ, *sh.* 319-21
43 RTJ, *sh.* 342 (Shrii Shaattaka), *sh.* 361 (Shahaabudiin)
44 RTJ, *sh.* 344
45 RTJ, *sh.*, 402
46 TSA, Persian text, page 7
47 RTJ, *sh.*, 426

foster mother who side with Shahaabudiin's son Hasan against his uncle the king Kudadeena. Lest the polarisation-mongers jump to conclusions, it must be pointed out that Kudadeena's supporters too were all Hindu.

The Hindu culture, ways, religion etc. continued till after his rule. Much later, after the threat of Hasan had been removed, the issueless Kudadeena beseeched *yoogii* Brahmanaath, visiting Kashmir and was blessed with two sons.[48] Sayyid Alii in his *taariikh* attests to this state of affairs obtaining during the reign of Kudadeena or Kutubudiin.[49] Indeed, there is nothing but Hindu ministers and commanders, Hindu friends and spouses, Hindu armies and followers surrounding, propping up and supporting the first five Shahmiirii kings - Shahmeera, Jyamsara, Aleeshvara (Alaavudiin), Sharashaakaka and Kudadeena.[50]

It was the Hindu high priest Sharkar Suha who alerted Shihaabudiin about his death, whereupon he recalled his sons who he had earlier banished to Dilli.[51] His son Hasan came to Kashmir and a great tussle for power ensued between Hasan and Kutubudiin. Hindu ministers and soldiers fought on both sides, with Udayashrii and Laxmii rooting for Hasan.

This is the period when Lal Dyad lived. All this time there was no hint that anything had changed in the Kashmir polity, administration, society, life and religion, or thinking.

a. There were no Islamic symbols, *khutbas* and proselytizing *moolviis* around during this period.

b. The names, ways of living, associations even marriage preferences, continued to be as during the preceding decades of Hindu rule.

c. There was nothing in public life to show that there had been any change.

d. The chief queens, consorts, ministers, commanders and army personnel continued to be Hindus.

48 RTJ, *sh.*,
49 TSA, Persian text, page 13
50 RTJ, *sh.* 307 - 537
51 RTJ, *sh.* 459

e. Except for the word *Allah*, Joonaraaja does not speak of any Arabic terminology, usage or anything during these two decades.

f. Joonaraaja uses the word *maleechha* for the invading parties Shihaabudiin is said to have encountered outside Kashmir though they would all have been Muslims.

g. The word Muslim does not occur in this part. The non-Muslims of Kashmir, who formed the full complement of populace, were not called Hindus, but *Bhattaaraka* or *Bhatta* for short. That nomenclature continued down to the rule of Zainul-Aabdiin's son Haidar and continues to this day.

h. The first usage of word Hindu in Joonaraaja is in Hindu Khaan, the name of Shihaabudiin's brother. This usage is not in the sense of religion at all.

Even saying that Shahmiir started Muslim rule in Kashmir is incorrect. It is as incorrect to say that everything changed to Islam or Muslim ways on Shahmiir becoming the king as it would be to hold that Kashmir became Buddhist on Rinchana usurping the kingship. In both cases, it is a mere technicality - just the fact that the kings happened to be non-Hindus. They were also non-Kashmiris. But there was no change in society. The polity, administration, officers, ways, language, religion..., all remained as before.

TSA, speaking of the 4TH Shahmiiri king Shahaabudiin makes it clear that except for a few mosques, there was little Islamic presence in his rule. Even the change had not begun till then, i.e. while Lal Dyad lived. It began decades after her death. Islamisation, which the term Muslim Rule shouldn't but invariably[52] implies, came after Sayyids began to pour in from central Asia and impinge upon the kings. Then came the words *kaafir, nikah,* Islam, Muslim and *moolvii* and the resultant impactions. Thirty years later, Kudadeena's son Shringaara turned into Sikandar and began to overturn things, as TSA so faithfully reports. This historical perspective has to be factored into every analysis of the language and thought of Lal Dyad. It is necessary for locating the advertant or inadvertent interpolation into the *vaakhs* of Lal.

52 GMD Suufii, all through his *Kashiir*, treats the sheer presence of Shahmiir as the islamisation of Kashmir!

As pointed out earlier, the *vaakhs* of Lal came to be recorded 400 years after Lal Dyad. There is no indication that the recording was done from any manuscripts. This is important for two signal aspects of Lalu' Vaakh, her diction and her thought. During the centuries after Lal, Persian language and literature entered Kashmir. Introduded during the reign of Zainul-Aabdiin, it grew during the subsequent centuries, especially when Mugals and Aghans held sway in Kashmir. Gradually the literary expressions, paradigms and ideations began to change. Suufiism came in and began to influence the spiritual sphere. It happened practically a full century after Lal. There was no hint of Suufism during the time of Lal. In fact, every Persian word and Suufii nuance found in Lal would be a red herring; no study of Lal Dyad can be divorced from the specific historical context, the time when she lived i.e. the first six decades of 14^{th} century or so. Contextualising Lal's utterances with the suufii ideations and influences that entered Kashmir much later distorts the import as well as the diction of the vaakhs of Lal Dyad. Unfortunately, that is exactly what has happened.

Lal
And
Her Life

Lal[53] the pristine poetess of Kashmir lived in the first part of the 14TH century of Christian era. The earliest historical reference to Lal is in *Vaakaati Kashmiir* of Muhammad Azm Dyadmary, who says that Lal was in prominence in the reign of Alaavudiin (1346-54CE)[54]. VK was written in mid 18TH century (1735-46CE), nearly four centuries after Lal. According to Dyadma'ry Lal died during the reign of Shahaabudiin (1354-73CE)[55].

Around the time Azm was writing his history, the scholar Bhaaaskaraachaarya made the first collection of the Vaakhs of Lal called *Lalu' Vaakyaanii*, comprised of sixty *vaakhs*. As the title of Bhaaskar's collection indicates, *vaakh* is a *tadbav* of *vaakya*, meaning an axiom. The *vaakhs* of Lal are axiomatic expositions of the philosophy of Kashmir in four-line stanzas. About a century prior to Lal, the *vaakh*-genre had been used by Shiti Kantth. Fortunately, his *Mahaanai Prakaash* – the glorious light – comprised of 94 *vaakhs* was recorded and has reached us in its original, unpolluted form. The diction of MP has to be considered in reckoning the diction of Lalu' Vaakh.

The *vaakhs* of Lal, probably due to her itinerant mode of living, did not get recorded, or the records perished as Kashmir was taken over by tumultuous times soon after Lal.[56] Many things perished

53 Please note that as per RRK, a in Lal is short; **Lal** not to be read **Laal**. The graphemes for different case forms, as per RRK are ***Lal*** – *(Lal Dyad)*, ***Lalu'*** – *(Saa'rii Lalu' vaakh chhi yath kitaabi manz.)*, ***Lali*** – *(Lali hund nilu'vatth chhu mashahuur.)*

54 *'va zahuurash dar zamaani sultaan Alaavudiin buud'*: Vaakaati Kashmiir, Srinagar text, page 34

55 *'Dar zamaani sultaan Shihaabudiin az aalam dar guzisht'*: *ibid.* page 35

56 *Kaa'shiri Adbuk Taa'riikh*, Shafi Shook and Naa'jii Munavar, 1991, Universtiy of Kashmir, page 52 (They call it

there. *Vaakhs* of Lal passed to the *vox populi*, suffering the ravages of tone and tongue. The *vaakhs* today are the primary indicators that make us believe that a poetess of this greatness did indeed live in Kashmir and enriched the life and culture of her time. Folk memory remembers her as Lal Dyad, Lal Maa'j, Laleeshvarii, leaving no doubt at all about her existence and her being a poetess of overwhelming merit. Historical evidence, however, is neither concrete nor definitive. The evidence of the persona of Lal is of three types:

1.Poetic: The primary corroboration here is the body of Vaakh, left behind by Lal.

1.1 Vaakhs of Lal: Though there are differences of opinion as to which are the genuine *vaakhs* of Lal and which are doubtful there is no doubt about the fact that she wrote vaakhs. They were so incisive, so powerful that they lived in the public tongue for centuries before they got transcribed. Ironically, the poetry of two *vaakh*-writers, Shiti Kantth preceding her by a century and Rwpu' Bhavaanii, a junior 18th century contemporary of Bhaaskaraachaarya, are available to us in their original recorded form. While these two vaakhs, separated by six hundred years resemble each other closely in diction, the vaakhs of Lal are disconcertingly modern in their vocabulary. Yet there is enough evidence there of Lal having been a historical personage and a poet of merit.

1.2 Nundu' Ryosh: A clear reference to Lal's existence, as well her being an exquisite saint-poetess, comes from Nundu' Ryosh, the poet of similar axiomatic verses, who also wrote long supplicatory poems called *Venath* (*vintii*). The first stanza[57] of his supplication, to the *Deevaas* (Gods) to bestow on him a poetic stature akin to one of the then well-known saintly personages of Kashmir, supplies irrefutable proof of Lal Dyad:

tas Padmaan Poorichi Lalee
tami galee amryath pivoo (pivu')

---

shahri aashoob, the state of high tumult, after the Persian fashion.)

57 *Kuliyaanti Shaikhulaalam*, ed. Muutii Lal Saakii, JKAACL, 3rd print 1996, page 148. Saakii says in the footnote that the third line in many Rishinaamas is *sw saa'ny nu' avtaar Lalii* while Amiin Kaa'mil has transcribed *sw saa'ny avtaar Lalii (loc. cit.)*.

Shiva vuchhun thalee thalee

tyuth me var ditoo deevoo (devu')

2.Hagiographic: Hagiographies are not history, though sometimes even critically conscious persons like Shafi Shook and Naa'jii Munavar call them *tavaariikh*. A hagiography is 'a biography that idealizes or idolizes the person (especially a person who is a saint)'[58]. In Persian terminology they are called *tazkiraa*. They invariblay draw upon the fantasy, rumour, hearsay and do not shy of the personal divination called '*kashf*', all without any critical examination or attention to the facts mentioned.

2.1 ***Tazkiratul Aariifiin*** - the description of the endowed - was written in 971HE (1563CE) by *Baabaa Alii Rainaa* to commemorate the disciples of his brother Shaikh Hamza.[59] Shook and Munavar, write: *Lal Dyadi mutalik chhu taa'riikhan manz saarivuy khootu' proon havaalu' Baabaa Alii Rainu'nis* tazkiratul aariifiin taa'riikhas *manz meelaan*. (The earliest *historical* mention of Lalu' Dyad is found in the *history* called *tazkiratul aariifiin* of *Baabaa Alii Rainaa*).[60] He mentions Lal as a saint poetess calling her *Lal Maa'j*, the mother Lal.[61]

2.2 ***Asraarul Abraar*** - the secrets of the exalted - was written in mid 17TH century, by Baabaa Daavuud Mashkaatii (1592-1658CE)[62] a disciple of Shaikh Hamza. It gives a longer description of Lal. The full description is as given below:

It is recorded in Taariikhi Husainii that in 747HE Alaavudiin son of Shamsuldiin sat on the throne. He had two sons, Shahaabudiin and Kutubudiin. Once, during his reign, his elder son Shahaabudiin went on a hunt.[63] Those days Lala Aarifa would roam

58 The online dictionary, WordWeb

59 *Akaadamii Makhtuutaat*, 1986, Moolvii Muhammad Ibraahiim, vol. I, JKAACL, Srinagar, page 309

60 *Kaa'shiri Adbuk Taa'riikh*, *ibid.*, page 50

61 *Ibid.*,

62 *Akaadamii Makhtuutaat*, 1986, Moolvii Muhammad Ibraahiim, Vol. I, JKAACL, Srinagar, page 307.

63 This is the well known tale of the encounter of Shihaabudiin with the *yooginii naayikaa* originally narrated by Joonaraaja in his Raajataranginii (sh. 343–54). Joonaraaja, however, does not give the name of the Yooginii. *Asraarul Abraar*, is the second work to give Jonaraja's *yooginii naayikaa*, the name Laleeshavarii or Lalu' Dyad, who gets called an *aarifa* i.e. an accomplished one here. It must be noted that there is nothing to vouch for the truth of this identification. For one, it comes three centuries after Lal. Secondly, no sources are cited to support it. The later Persian histories reproduce it, with variations, as noted below. If this identification is accepted, a necessary collary would be to revise the *divaanii, mastaanii* visions of Lal as Joonaraaja is specific that the lady who met Shihaabudiin was a *Yooginii Naayika*, at the head of a *Yooginii Chakra*. The version of Persian chronicles or hagiographies seeing her as a frenzied, intoxicated woman does not gel with what Joonaraaja says.

the jungles. One day she came across Shahaabudiin in that hunting ground. Shahaabudiin had three persons, Malik Jandaar, Roodash Raaval and Khoojii[64] with him. The absorbed one said, "Come, sit here and take a drink." She extended her hand into the air and placed a cup of sharbat before Shahaabudiin. He drank half of it and gave the remaining to Roodash Raaval [Udaya Shrii] who sat to his right. He too drank half and handed over the remaining to Jandaar [Chandra Ddaamar], who sat to the left of the king. He too drank but left nothing for Khoojii [Ashvapaala].

Thereupon the aarifa laughed and said, "Had you drunk all, you'd have become king of the whole world. Yet, you'll conquer many countries, which few kings do."

Pointing to Roodash Raaval [Udaya Shrii] she said, "He will be your vaziir."

Indicating Jandaar [Chandra Ddaamar], she said, "He will be the commander of your forces. Both of them would perform great deeds. The truth of these utterances would be proved with this person Khoojii [Ashvapaala], who got nothing from this cup, dying before reaching the (next) station."

Khoojii died before reaching there and thus confirmed the forecast. Shahaabudiin sat on the throne in 759HE on the death of his father. He appointed Roodash Raaval [Udaya Shrii] his minister and Jandaar Malik [Chandra Ddaamar], the commander of his army. This was just as the frenzied one had said.

That absorbed one had initially been in the wedlock of a person. The whole family was amazed at her mysticism. At times her husband would also get angry with her, because he was unaware of her spiritual state.

One day she was returning home with a pitcher of water on her head. When she entered the compound, her husband took a thick

---

64 The actual names given by Joonaraaja are Udaya Shrii, Chandra Ddaamara and the *ashvapaala* i.e. the horse groom. Persian versions distort the first two names and supplant *akhtaajii*, the Persian for a horse-groom, for the third.
The word '*khoojii*' given here, is an erroneous form of *akhtaajii*, though one is not certain whether this error is in the original persian text of the wrok or has originated with the Urdu translator. This whole text was very kindly provided by Shri Aijaaz Ahmad of Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar from the *in situ* papers of the Urdu translation under publication. We acknowledge the kindness with gratitude.

stick, struck the pitcher and broke it. The clay shattered and fell to the ground but water remained poised upon the head of the pious one. She entered the house with it, filled all the pots with water and threw the rest onto the compound. It turned into a pool, which has not dried to date. It is called Lalu'traag.

When these deeds of hers became known, her popularity grew. She turned to jungles and the wilds. Betimes, she roamed the jungles naked and weeping. She sought no shelter in summer and winter, day or night, and would not return home from the wilderness.

[Once] she sat naked on a thoroughfare. People walked upon the road and she sat unconcerned, till a person of the group passed by her. When he drew near she quickly drew in her organs[65] and joined her thighs to her belly. Seeing this he asked, 'O frenzied one! You sat naked and carefree while hordes of people crossed the path. You felt no shame as if you saw none of them. Now that I am here, you have begun to feel modest and conceal your organs[66]."

She replied, "These who passed by, were all women. Why would I conceal my body from the dust-ladden, oafish women? Now, a man is here. He would've seen my bare body. So it was necessary for me to conceal my body."

A joogii lived in Paanpoor. His name was Sidha Shrii Kantth. He had built a place of worship in the village. Lala, the pious one, also lived there. One day she came into the place of worship. When joogii saw the naked divaanii, he closed his eyes and lowered his head. Lala said, "O you spiritually immature one! Why do you call yourself sidha i.e. a valii. You have not yet come out of the differentiation. Due to your un-coached vision, you see two in place of one. You see the Oness, save which nothing exists, now as male and now as the female sex.[67] Wherever you look, it is the same (Oneness) but due to your lack of training you betimes see sharp (features) and betimes close your eyes. Have you not heard: [poem]."

65 This is what the text says, probably implying that she covered her body.

66 It would imply 'body'.

67 The narrator does not realize that Lal is now contradicting what she had said earlier when she 'drew in her organs'. Such logical contradictions are commonly seen in writings of this type. They attribute contradictory assertions to their subjects, to justify conflicting situations. More often it is an attempt to press different points, with little regard to the logic of the case. However, this later speech is more in keeping with the Shaiva philosophy which Lal Dyad expounds below.

The joogii was stunned at this spiritual acuity of the carefree divaanii. When that mast divaanii came to throw urine on his idols, he quickly stopped her saying that that was no place for throwing urine[68] or desecration, but a place of iishavar and allah.

Lal said, "Then, show me the place, where God is not seen." The joogii gave out a shout and swooned. [poem]

When she took to jungles and wildernesses, the common people began to cast aspersions on her. She called upon her vision and composed a rubayii in Kashmiri language: [vaakh]

She was asked, what was the difference[69] between unity and diversity? She replied, "It is the same as there is the ice, snow, hail and water. When the sun of divine brilliance rises, all turns into water and nothing else remains."

She also said, "The Lord is with us like the eye; we see everything with it but do not see it." People say it was her initial phase.

She has also said, "So long as the disciple is bound up in his existence, he remains a marduud.[70] When he nears God, he exists."

She further said, "The difference of male and female is a worldly one. Transcending the world, this difference becomes meaningless. The clash of kufur and iimaan relate to the world. Transcending it every bond, every differentiation is lost. Strange are the ways of the Lord. Here the senseless are conscious and the conscious ones are unconscious."

People said that casting aspersions was a sin. She said, "No, it is kufur because it an affront to the truth."

She said, "The world is a healing place. The spiritually enlightened ones are the physicians for the sick ones. Some sick are healed by themselves and some die inspite of the physicians treating them, as their disease does not respond to treatment. The one who preserves the divine mysteries (amaanat daar) is the true one and

68 Again, this is what the text says. Not having seen the original Persian, one is not able to say whether it is a verbatim translation of the original text or misinterpretation of the translator. Piir Hasan, relating this same incident in vol. III of his Taariikh, says that she came to urinate in the House of Lord.

69 Here too, the wording is imprecise. Instead of *fark* (difference between) it should've been *taaluk* (relation between). All through, this translation reproduces the Urdu text exactly.

70 This is the Persian wordiage. The actual Shaiva term, which Lal would've used, is *pashu*, the bound one i.e. one caught in the worldly bonds.

the one who cannot safeguard them is dishonest. Wanting fame is seeking the kahar (wrath) of the Lord, and reaming incognito is being refuged by the Lord. This is what the saying 'my intimates are within my robe and none save me is acquainted with them' means." There are numerous like sayings of hers.

Abul Fukra (Nasiibudiin Gaazii) has said that sayings in this vein have been heard from many and read in many books, but nothing like what is found in her utterances and those of Shaikh Nuurudiin is found anywhere.

One day she placed a clay thaal[71] (plate) under her feet and another on her head.

People asked, "What'll you do?"

She replied, "I'll hide myself from the public eye."

Saying so the two plates got joined. People thought that she had hidden in the plates. When the thaal was lifted, there was nothing in it. That was how she passed away.[72]

3.**Historical**: The historical tradition of Kashmir, established on a firm pedestal by Kalhana Pandit, is well known. Kalhana's Raajataranginii was written some two centuries before Lal. About a hundred years after Lal, Joonaraaja continued this work on the orders of Zainul-Aabdiin. He also called his work Raajataranginii. It thus became an updation of Kalhana Pandit's history and is the second work in the Rajataranigini series. After Joonaraaja's death in 1459CE, the history was continued by Shriivara, who died in 1486. Two more updations were added to Raajataranginii. One of these (4TH) is not avaialbale, while the last one (i.e. of Shuka) was written after Akbar's conquest of Kashmir in 1586CE. The first Persian history of Kashmir was written a hundred years after Joonaraaja in the last decade of Chak rule, (around 1569CE) by Sayyid Alii who speaks of another chronicle having been written a few decades earlier. Half a century after Sayyid Alii, in the second decade of

71 The text says '*thaal*', which is unusual for a Persian text, as the word is used by Kashmiri Hindus for a brass eating-plate. Kashmiri Muslims do not use this plate, though they use the word *thaa'ly* to refer to a copper plate they use for eating. Other version of the story says she used *ttook*, the earthen plates used for eating by the Hindus. *Ttaa'ky* were in use till the early decades of 20TH century, even for marriage feasts.

72 This earliest Muslim version of Lal Dyad should put to rest all speculations about Lal having been buried after her death.

the 17TH century, *Bahaaristaan Shaahii*, another history in Persian, was written. Around the same time Haidar Malik Chaadduurah wrote his *taariikh*.. Then came Muhammad Azm's *Vaakaati Kashmir*, referred to above, in the mid-18TH century of Christian era. The last great Persian history of Kashmir, *Taariikhi Hasan* was written by Piir Hasan Khoyihaamii towards the end of 19TH century, in 1884CE. While Sanskrit histories, the primary sources here, do not speak of Lal, the persian histories talk of her, rather profusely.

3.1 **Raajataranginii of Joonaraaja**: Writing just a century after Lal, Joonaraaja does not speak of Lal, because he was primarily telling of the political events. He makes a one-line mention of Mulaa Nuurudiin as the main guru of Muslims (*yavanaanaam param guruum*) in connection with his persecution of Hindus during Alii Shah's rule.[73]

Joonaraaja, however, speaks of Alaavudiin's son prince Shrii Shaattaka (later known as Shahaabudiin, the 4th king in the Shahmirii family), having come across a *yooginii chakra* in a mountain cave at Vaakpushttaattvii, during a hunting trip. Joonaraaja says that he was accompanied only by his friends Udaya Shrii and Chandra Ddaamara, and *ashvapaala*, the horseman. Named after Vaakpushttaa, the queen of king Tunjiina, Vaakpushttaattvii has been identified[74] with the village Vattuu, a couple of miles below the well-known waterfall of Ahrabal (Sanskrit, *ahoorbila*) in Domhal Hanji Pora Tehsil of Kulgam district. The place is situated between the Hurapuura and Guul Gulaabgradh passes. The story as given in *shlookas* 343–354 is as follows:

"Once upon a time, the prince saw a group of yooginiis in the cavern of the mountains at Vaakpushttattavii (sh. 343). His friends Udaya Shrii and Chandra Ddaamara too saw them, for what doesn't come to pass in company of the worthy (sh. 344)! Bells resonate on being struck, but minds of the brave and courageous are not perturbed (sh. 345). Filling the space with their clang and clamor, the yooginiis with their drums appeared fearsome (sh. 345a).[75]

73 Rajatarangini by Jonaraja, ed. Srikanth Kaul, *shlooka* 673, text page 126
74 Stein's note to Rajatarangini verse 2:57, mentioning Vaakpushttattvi as the place where the queen followed her husband into death (Vol. I page 61).
75 This is an additional *shlooka*, found in the Bombay edition of the work, (Kaul, text page 26)

"They alighted from their horses, not out of fear but intending to touch them before they disappeared (sh. 346). Ashine in their grandeur, the worthies walking slowly and silently, approached the yooginiis (sh. 347). The yooginii naayikaa, recognizing the prince from a distance, presented him a cup of wine[76] with her blessing and incantation (sh. 348). Quenching himself upon the portion of the ambrosia left by the Raajaa, Chandra thinking of Udaya Shrii did not finish it all (sh. 349).

"Forgetting the groom, as per the dictates of destiny, Udaya Shrii drank all of it and quenched himself (sh. 350). Beholding those quenchers with amazement, the yooginii, who understood omens, told the prince with clasped hand (sh. 351): "Your kingdom shall remain entire. Chandra shall share in your grandeur his whole life. Udaya Shrii too shall enjoy glory (sh. 352). However, the groom bereft of my blessings, will die soon (sh. 353).

"These forecasts made, she (the yooginii naayikaa) vanished along with the yooginiis; the groom died soon after (sh. 354)."

3.2 **Taariikhi Sayyid Alii** was written, during the later part of chak rule, by Sayyid Alii, a scion of the Sayyids accompanying Miir Sayyid Alii Hamadaanii. Half of this chronicle is devoted to the description of the Muslim saints of Kashmir who had lived till the time of writing i.e. late 16TH century of Christian era. Sayyid Alii begins his chronicle during the last phase of Shahaabudiin's rule. He does not mention Lal Dyad nor the incident related by Joonaraaja regarding Shihaabudiin. Taariikhi Raashidii of Merzaa Haidar Duglaat, the defacto ruler of Kashmir from 1540CE to 1551, also does not contain any mention of Lal.

3.3 **Bahaaristaan Shaahii** was also written in the early decades of 17TH century, possibly circa 1610CE. It does not mention Lal Dyad, but relates the incident of Shahaabudiin meeting some saintly woman including the divinations made by her.[77] The story is evidently copied from Joonaraaja, with the evident Persianisation of the tale. Where Joonaraaja says that the

76 Joonaraaja says *shiidu-chashak* i.e. 'a cup of wine' (*sh.* 348)
77 Bahaaristaan Shaahii, English tr. K N Pandit, page 30

yooginii served a cup of wine to the prince, BS says that the lady, whom it calls an *aarifa* after the Persian fasion, gave the prince a cup of *sharbat*.

3.3 **Taariikhi Haidar Malik Chaadduurah**, the history written by the nobleman of Jahaangiir, Haidar Malik of Chaadduurah, makes no mention of Lal Dyad or Laleeshvarii but gives the incident[78] related by Joonaraaja regarding Shihaabudiin, with evident variations:

"One day Shihaabudiin, the elder son, went for hunting. During the hunt, he got separted from his lashkar so that none except three persons came to be with him, one Chandar, another Oodasha Raaval and the third Aakhtaajii, the cunning.[79] They landed far away from the habitation. In a cave, they saw a woman, secluded from the people, with signs of reform, restraint, saintliness and auterity evident from her being. That lady brought a cup of milk to the prince. The prince drank a little and gave the rest of Chandaar and Oodasha Raaval. None of the remainder reached Akhtaajii.

"Thereupon that truthful one drew conclusions and said: 'Whatever of the mysteries the creator of the universe has conveyed to me, I relate that to you. The long and short of it is that Shahaabudiin would gain to the throne of governance and, with divine aid, shall bring most of the realms under his sway and shall bring ease and comfort to the people.' Then she turned to Chandaar and Oodasha Raaval and said: 'You would attain to ministries while the mysteries say in respect of Akhtaajii, who did not taste the sharbat, that he would taste death before reaching home.' When the prince left that place, the cunning one left for the world of decimated. Whatever she had said regarding the prince came to be."

The descriptions of BS and THMC are similar, including the names. However, instead of THMC first calling the beverage *'shiir'* (milk) and later *sharbat*, BS calls it *sharbat*, all through. Since there is little evidence that either of the authors of BS and THMC saw the

---

78 THMC, Persian text, pages 51-52 (given in History of Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadurah translated by Razia Bano, Bhavana Prakashan, New Delhi. The translation given above is of the Persian text by R L Bhat.)

79 While the names of Chandaar and Oodasha, are still closer to the original ones given by Joonaraaja, the name *akhtaajii* is the Persian translation of *'ashvapaal'*, the Sanskrit for groom or horse-keeper. The word has been taken for a proper name.

work of other, both must have relied on the same source, possibly the Persian Translation of Raajataranginii, got done earlier under the orders of Akbar, as related by Kaul.[80]

3.4 **Vaakaati Kashmir**, written a century and a half later, in the mid-18TH century, relates this tale, giving 'the saintly woman' of earlier accounts the name Lal Aarifa:

"Before coming to occupy the throne, during the time of his esteemed father's reign, he (Shihaabudiin) had once gone to woods for hunting. There taking two cups of milk[81] from a majzuuba he had obtained the intimation of kingship. It is said that the ascetic was Lalu' aarifaa. He had two companions with him, one Chand Daad and the second Udashah Raaval. The ascetic after duly granting them a portion of milk, gave them the intimation of (their attaining to) ministership. She said, "The truth of these intimations is that Aakhtaajii sultaan, who did not get a share of milk, would die before reaching home".[82]

A little later, Dyadmary gives a separate description of Lal, titled '**Description of the perfect ascetic Lalah**':

"The period of her attaining to prominence was the era of Sultaan Alaavudiin. First she was in the wedlock of a person and engaged in domestic affairs. Then the spiritual call descended upon her and she turned to solitude and seclusion. She spent a while in obscurity. None of her relatives and near and dears was aware of her innate turmoil.

"[By chance] one day she carried a pitcher of water on her head to her house. Her husband who used to complain of her activities busted the pitcher with a stick. The water stayed upon the head of that austere lady. She filled all the pots of her house with that water and threw away the rest which formed into a huge pool. With this act she became famous. She severed her link to the household and became cynosure of the public eye. From the cloistered life she

80 Srikanth Kaul, the Rajatarangini of Jonaraja, pages 19

81 All other versions of the Jonaraja's tale, speak of a single cup. Another deviation from the original is Azm speaking of the lady herself giving out portions of the drink.

82 *Vaakaati Kashmiir*, Persian text, Srinagar publication 1937, pages 33-34; Azm suffixing the word for the goom by sultaan, Implies that either he has mistaken it for a proper noun or has knowingly transformed into a proper noun.

turned out into the wilderness of yearning. Barely and tearly, in rain and snow, hungry and sleepless she roamed the vistas.

[1 Couplet]

"She died during the reign of Sultaan Shahaabudiin. Hindus and Muslims relate many tales regading the death of that austere lady. It is said at the time of death she was at the spot where now lies the corner of jaamya masjid of Bijbihaarah. At the cessation of her breath her spirit soared to the skies and nothing, save a flash, was seen by those present. It is also told that she asked for two earthenware plates[83] and said that she would seclude herself. She placed the plates, one upon the other, and entered in between. When they lifted the plate, they did not find her.

"The tale of her being alive at the time The Master Of Ordinations, Hazrati Kutubi Rabbaanii, Alii Saanii visited Kashmir has not been proven on investigation."[84]

3.5 **Taariikhi Hasan**, the last significant Persian history of Kashmir, was written by Piir Hasan Khoyihaamii in 1884 of Christian era. By the time Piir Hasan began to write, the lore of Lal had grown enormously. Most of the updations of the Raajataranginii series had been translated into English and Stein was already active in translating the definitive work of Kalhana Pandit after editing the text. Unlike the earlier Persian chroniclers, Piir Hasan was conscious of this body of information and took pains to present a rationally acceptable version of history. It was the time of collating all available information. However, the critical examination of the available data, especially the folklore, was yet to begin.

Hasan gathered all the lore related to Lal and put it in the 3rd volume of his four-volume work, without much discrimination as to the veracity, even probability of the details thrown up by the *vox populi*. Except for the birth-by-birth details, which Anand Kaul was to drum up later, Hasan's account contains most of the facts and fiction woven around Lal. Hasan also relates the tale of Joonaraaja

83 The shallow earthen plates are called '*Ttook*' in Kashmiri. size of a quarter-plate, *Ttook* is used both as an eating plate and as a lid for the earthen pots, pitchers etc.

84 *Vaakaati Kashmiir*, Persian text, Srinagar ed., pages 34-35

in connection with the reign of Shahaabudiin[85] in the 2ND volume of his Taariikh:

"It has been recorded that when he (Shihaabudiin) was a prince, once on a hunt he ended up in the mountains far away from the habitation. He had grown thirsty. Of his servitors, he had three with him. One was Raayii Shardal, second Janddaa and the third was Aakhtaajii.[86] Lalu' Aarifaa came out of the mountain pass and gave Shahaabudiin a cup of milk. Shahaabudiin drank a little of it passed it to Janddaa. He drank a little and passed it to Raayii Shardal. He drank up all and gave Aakhtaajii nothing. Thereupon Aarifaa revealed that Shahaabudiin would be a great king, Janddaa and Raayii Shardal would be his minister and commander and Aakhtaajii would have a short life. When they turned to the city, Aakhtaajii died on the way."[87]

Except the "*muntakhabul tavaariik*" of Naaraayan Kaul Aajiz[88] (written 1710CE), all Persian histories of Kashmir make a definitive mention of this meeting of Lal and Shahaabudiin. At the same time, the deviations from the original tale are remarkable in each version of the tale. Clearly, the particulars are being progressively Persianised. The contents change: *yoogini* of Joonaraaja becomes an *aarifaa;* wine becomes *sharbat* and finally *shiir*. By and by the names change till they become practically unrecognizable: *Udaya Shrii* > *Oodasha* > *Udashah* > *Shardal.* The final form in Hasan could even be read as *Sheer Dil!* Notably the initial deviation in *ashvapaala* > *Aakhtaajii* is deemed sufficient and does not change. Characteristically, these chroniclers do not cite any sources to substantiate their very definitive assertions. None of them acknowledges Joonaraaja, the source from which, or a translation whereof, the tale is taken. They do not tell on what basis they give the name Lal to the yooginii naayika, when Joonaraaja does not indicate any such interpretation.

85 Taariikhi Hasan, Persian text, published by Research and Publication Department, J&K Govt. Srinagar, Vol. II, page 171

86 As noted above the names are fast becoming unrecognizable. The distorsion of names is surprising in Piir Hasan, since he would have had access to even the original work.

87 The deviations from the original tale are evident. It may be noted that Hasan had access to all preceding versions, as well as the original.

88 J L Kaul, Lal Dyad, JKAACL, 4TH edition, page 320

Folk lore has it that Laleeshvarii, Lalu' Maa'j or Lal Dyad lived to an age of 62 years. Muhammad Azm Dyadma'ry holds that she came to fore during the rule of Alaavudiin and passed away during the reign of Shahaabudiin. After a thorough examination of the historical references, the folklore as well as other sources on Lal Dyad, Prof. Jayalal Kaul concludes that Lal was born around the first decade of the 14TH century (about 1310) of Christian Era and died in the 6TH decade (about 1370CE), during the reign of Shahmiir's grandson, Shahaabudiin.

Kashmir came to be ruled by Muslims in the 4TH decade, (1341CE) when Shahmiir usurped the kingdom, overcoming Koottaa Deevii after the death of Udyana Deeva. Laleeshvarii was already past her prime when Kashmir came under the Muslim rule. This is very important in study of the language, philosophy and concerns of Lal as depicted in her *vaakhs*. This is especially so, since we know nothing definitive about Lal and her life except her *vaakh*.

Lal
And
Her Vaakh

The Vaakhs of Lal were first collected nearly four hundred years after Lal, in the first quarter of eithteenth century (around 1725CE), by Bhaaskar Raazdaan as **Lalleeshvarii Vaakyaanii**. Comprised of sixty *vaakhs*, his compilation is listed in the list of manuscripts collected by George Buhler around 1875CE.[89] Bhaaskar recorded the Kashmiri text of the *vaakhs* and gave Sanskrit translation of each *vaakh*. Raajyanka Bhaaskar was a contemporary of Muhammad Azm Dyadma'ry, as well as the well-known Sanskrit poet, scholar and copyist Ratanakantth[90]. The two together point to a living tradition of Sanskrit scholarship at least till the 18TH century. Stein tells that all the manuscripts of Raajataranginii he came across were in the hand of Ratanakantth.[91] Bhaaskaraachaarya's work was written in Shaardaa. The copy collected by Buhler in 1875, though in Deva Nagri script, bears a heavy Shaardaa slant, with many alphabets styled after Shaardaa rather than Dev Nagri. An alphabetical index of these sixty Vaakhs has been given here, under the title of 'Bhaaskar Index' i.e. the 'Index of the 60 Vaakhs in Laleeshvarii Vaakyaani of Bhaaskar'.

Dr T N Ganjoo, the well known Shaardaa Scholar of Kashmir, showed this author a compilation of Vaakhs of Lal in Shaardaa script in July 2011, during a meeting at his residence in Srinagar. According to him the compilation would be over three hundred years old, which approximates the time of Bhaaskar Raazdaan.

89 Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, by G Buhler, extra number of The Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society, 1877, Bombay, London
90 *Suuryashatakam*, (2008), Ved Kumari, Published, Richa Prakaashnam, Jammu Tawi
91 M A Stein, Kalhana's Raajataranginii, Vol I, pages 46-47

He revealed that he had come by the work in the auction/sale of manuscripts from the ransacked houses of Kashmiri Hindus after their exodus in 1990. The manuscripts, which ran into thousands as per his report, were being sold by weight on the Bund, Srinagar in 1991-93. More details could not be known as he was still working on the manuscript. A page of the work is given here.

The next collection of the *vaakhs* of Lal was by George Abraham Grierson with John Bartlet, under the title **Lalu' Vaakyaanii,** in late 19TH century. It contains the 60 *vaakhs* of Bhaaskaraachaarya and 49 additional *vaakhs*. Grierson diid not change the order of *vaakhs* of Bhaaskaraachaarya's collection; Vaakhs 1-60 in Lalu' Vaakyaanii are those given by Bhaaskaraachaarya. Lalu' Vaakyaani was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London in 1920, in the modification of Roman script devised by Grierson for writing Kashmiri. Grierson also used a collection of *vaakhs* made by Ariel Stein of Rajatarangini fame. These *vaakhs* are given in Dev Nagri script in Grierson's *Lalu' Vaakkyaanii*. Grierson also took around 12 vaakhs from the Kashmiri Proverbs of J Hinter Knowles and added them as the appendix to his collection, taking the total number of *vaakhs* in his collection to 121. The *vaakhs* added by Grierson have been indexed alphabetically as 'Grierson Index'.

After Grierson, a number of collections of Vaakhs of Lal appeared, most of which contained some additional Vaakhs. The major compilations of this period are: **Lalu' Yoogeeshvarii** of Pt. Anand Kaul containing 75 additional Vaakhs; **Vaakh Laleeshvarii** (A.K. Wanchuu and Sarvaanand Kaul Charaagii) containing a total of 200 Vaakhs; **Kalaami Lalu' Aarifaa** of Nizaamudiin Khaanyaarii containing fifty Vaakhs, and **Lalu' Vaakh** by J L Kaul Jalaalii, containing 38 Vaakhs. Some of these compilations contain Vaakhs in Persio-Arabic script while others have used Dev Nagri script.

Jayalal Kaul first made a compilation of 135 Vaakhs of Lal along with Nand Laal Kaul Taalib who translated the Vaakhs into Urdu verse. It was published by Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages in 1961, under the title **Lal Dyad** in Persio-Arabic script. In 1975, Kaul brought out the second edition of

this collection. This contained a total of 258 Vaakhs, which included all the Vaakhs attributed to Lal in the compilations published till then.[92] In this edition Kaul divided the Vaakhs into three categories. The first, Category I contained 140 Vaakhs which he considered genuine *vaakhs* of Lal. In 1973, Sahitya Akademy published Kaul's English translation of the *vaakhs* titled ***Lal Ded***.[93] It contained the Category I of ***Lal Dyad***, except *vaakh* numbers 56 (*shiv chhury thali thali roozaan...*) and 140 (3-vaakh clutch of *sriyas hyuv noo prakaash kunee...*), apparently doubting their genuineness.[94] The index given in the English work also lists only 138 vaakhs.[95] In the foot note to no. 56 above, Kaul points to its authorship by Nunda Reshi being shruk 113 in *kuliyaat*, volume III.[96]

There are 15 *vaakhs* in Category II, which he calls doubtful. In the Category III he places 103 *vaakhs*, which are either wrongly attributed to Lal or too corrupted to be treated as true *vaakhs* of Lal. Actually, there is no distinction between Categories II and III, the former being the cullings from the 1961 edition which had been translated into Urdu verse, by the co-author Taalib, and were found to be doubtful on inspection. That appears to be the reason for these 15 Vaakhs having been classed separately. The 103 *vaakhs* in Category-III were not translated. Thus all the *vaakhs* in both category-II and -III belong to the same category.

Though two more editions of Kaul's *Lal Dyad* have been brought out by JLAACL, one in 1984 and another in 1993 after his death, there are neither any additional Vaakhs nor any alterations in grouping in these editions. In the 1984 edition, Prof. Kaul also examined the '**Ascent of Self**' by B N Parimo which had been published, after the second edition of Kaul's Lal Dyad. Speaking of it in preface to the 3rd edition he says: 'Parimo has given a different version of some words in certain *vaakhs*, without indicating their source. Apparently these are based on his own presumption'.[97]

---

92 The details of the compilations and the Vaakhs each one of them contained were described by Jayalal Kaul in Appendix I of 'Lal Dyad'. It has been reproduced here as Appendix.
93 Jayalal Kaul, 1973, Lal Ded, Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi
94 Jayalal Kaul, 1993, Lal Dyad, 4TH edition, JKAACL, Srinagar
95 Lal Ded, *ibid.*, pages 144-47
96 Lal Dyad, *ibid.*, page 124
97 Lal Dyad, *ibid.*, page 14

Disregarding some minor flaws here and there (e.g. the very inapt translation of *svamani baagi baras*, or the inclusion of the some clearly interpolated *vaakhs* in the Category I) ***Lal Dyad*** of Jayalal Kaul can be considered the most comprehensive and well-researched collection of the *vaakhs* of Lal till the date of publication of the 3RD edition. However, one major hassle in this work is that the order of *vaakhs* as given by Bhaaskaraachaarya has been changed, in what can only be called an ill-advised, endeavour to fabricate Lal's spiritual ascent. Kaul alludes to it in the preface refered to above stating that what Parimo has attempted in Ascent of Self, was the theme of Lal Dyad. This has resulted in some *vaakhs* of unclear authenticity getting interspersed with the more genuine Vaakhs, and preceding them.

Some more books of the *vaakhs* of Lal have appeared after the 3RD edition of Kaul's Lal Dyad. As noted by Kaul in the last edition edited by him, B N Parimoo's 'Ascent of Self' again synthesised this same spiritual journey of Lal. Parimoo does not acknowledge Kaul's work at all. This work did not contain any new Vaakhs, though the text of many Vaakhs differs from that of earlier publications as noted by Kaul. Parimoo's work gives *vaakhs* in Roman script.

Another compilation ***'Kashmiirii Lal Dyad'*** by Dr. Shiban Krishan Raina, in Dev Nagri script, with Sanskrit and Hindi translation of *vaakhs* was published in 1977.[98] Though published after the 1975 edition of Kaul's *Lal Dyad*, it appears to be unaware of the 2ND edition and refers only to the 1961-edition. The *vaakhs* are listed indiscriminately, with *vaakhs* from Bhaaskar's, Grierson's and other compilations all mixed up. This collection of 179 Vaakhs does not contain any *vaakh*, not included in the 3RD edition of Kaul's Lal Dyad.

A 2-volume collection called **Voices of Experience** (Lall Vaakh of Lall Dyad/ Lalleshori of Kashmir, India) was published by B N Sopori. [99] The year is not given but an introductory letter carries the date 30 April 1999. Volume I contains 154 *vaakhs* and volume II

98 Lal Dyad, Kashmiirii text with Hindi translation, 1977, S K Raina, Bhuvan Vaanii Trust, Lucknow (UP)
99 B N Sopori, 1999, Voices of Experience (Lall Vaakh of Lall Dyad), published by the author from Ploura, Jammu

74 *vaakhs*, giving a total of (154+74) 228 *vaakhs*. There is an error in numbering on the index, with one vaakh 60 repeated under index nos 125 and 133. However, *vaakh* no 76 has been entered under index number 137-A. Thus the number of vaakhs is restored to 154.

It contains 20 *vaakhs* (10 in each volume) which are not present in the Kaul's compilation and hence also not in any of the compilations published earlier. One of these 20 *vaakhs* (*daman basti ditoo dil...*) is also found in earlier compilations from Grierson downwards but, as Kaul points out, it is actually of one Aziiz Khaan who is also the author of other *'vaakhs'* like *'gaa'filo hu'ku' kadam tul......, dilu' kis baagas duur kar gaa'sil'...* which had also been attributed to Lal, but have now be culled out.[100] Some of these non-Lal vaakhs are also found in Raina's Lal Dyad (*supra*).

Two of the 20 new *vaakhs*, given by Sopori, are actually popular ditties which are believed to be distorted versions of some cryptic spiritual formulations. Though more or less part of folklore now, their profundity expressed is neither folklorish nor childish. These are being written here for record:

zeen maali zeenoo angan angan
tsyeth chhuy zeenun tum kas kan-nee
raayas kan-nee, raayi kyah ditum
khasun gur tu' vasu'ny naav
kha'sith ga'yas bw tas kun-nuy
tati lu'bu'm kuttur muttur maamu'nihanah.

tami ditum gyavu' ttuur
swy peyem zazaras
zazar la'ju'm naa'npu'nee
kaam la'gim iirnee
jaan la'gim vuchhnee
satuk nai tu' mratuk
ban tsu' myoon kwlu'taaruk.
(*Sopori, S.No 41, Page 48, Vol. I*)

100 Lal Dyad, *ibid.*, page 311

hu kus bu' kus teli van tsu' kus
onum batukh lodum deegi
shah kich kich vaa manoo
broo madi haras poony chhakum
broo madi boo naa tteekis ttyokhaa.

(*Sopori, S.No 7, Page 12, Vol. II*)

It would be interesting to show them to be utterances of Lal. However, it is clear that they neither are in the *vaakh* format, not bear enough internal clues to be attributed outright to Lal. That leaves 17 Vaakhs from the Sopori's compilation which can be called new *vaakhs*, though two more '*vaakhs*' given by Sopori – '*aataal pe-vtaal.......*' and '*aataali paataali....*' – raise more heckles than curiosity about their attribution.

It is easily apparent that many of them are duplications and variants of *vaakhs* already published. Some of these *vaakhs* are probably work of other poets with nothing to vouch for their genuineness. At best these additional *vaakhs* are too heavily interpolated or have suffered irredeemably in transmission. Besides, the complier is hopelessly negligent about the sounds, use of alphabet as well as the connotation he invests them with. Thus in one single *vaakh* he transcribes '*sooz*' as 'SOZ' and '*rooz*' as 'ROZE' (*vaakh* 121, page 131 Vol. I). Thankfully, the *vaakhs* have been written in Dev Nagri as well as Roman script. The author does not speak of having perused the earlier collections or compared the *vaakhs* with the published versions. That negligence shows in lapses here, there and everywhere. Besides, he does not talk about his source. These 'new' *vaakhs* would fall in the Category III of Kaul and have been indexed there. These have been entered u/no's 259 – 277 in this encyclopedia.

In 2002, Shri Nath Handoo announced the work **Lalleeshvari Vaakyaanii** of Pandit Amar Nath. It carries facsimile of 4 *vaakhs* which are also given on pages 17-18. These, in the words of Sri Nath Handoo, "have been culled at random from the work". [101]

101 S N Handoo, 2002, Monograph of Anouncement of the Discovery of 47 Newly Found Vaakhs, Siddharth Publications, New Delhi

They carry numbers 123, 127, 128, 134. Of these four only one i.e no. 127 (*tsyath anti mitrapaya soovum....*) is not found in the Kaul's Lal Dyad, and has been accordingly added here u/no 277. The remaining 43 'new *vaakhs*' are yet to be opened to public.

In 2011, **Lalu' Prakaash**, by Pandit Premnath Shastri, was published.[102] It contains 116 *vaakhs* based on a compilation of Ram Shastri. It does not carry any *vaakh* not found in the earlier compilation, i.e. Kaul's Lal Dyad. Unfortunately, it also includes *vaakhs* like *dilukis baagas duur kar...* etc which for the last thirty or so years have been known to be the compostion of Aziiz Khaan and not of Lal.

The total *vaakhs* (genuine and doubtful) attributed to Lal Dyad, in one or another compilation published so far, include the 258 vaakhs in Kaul's Lal Dyad, 18 in Sopori's work and 1 attributed to Pandit Amar Nath. They add to 277 and have all been included in this work. They have been indexed as Bhaskar Index, Grierson Index, Kaul Index and Index of Doubtful Vaakhs.

102 Premnath Shastri, 2011, Lalu' Prakaash, Pt. Premnath Shaastrii Sanskritik Shoodh Sansthaan, Jammu.

Doubtful Lalu' Vaakh

A vast body of *vaakh* stands attributed to Lal. Many of them are sheer imitations of the *vaakh* form having little to do with Lal. Others are outright blasé if not banal. Yet, others are there which may have been *vaaks* of Lal but have suffered distortions, impinging seriously upon the thought and context of the *vaakh*. A very patent possibility is that other poets tried to take a line of Lal and filled in the rest, pro and aft. This could've been a genuine attempt either to recreate the *vaakh* whose content had been lost or to emulate the great poetess and her ideations. More often it was to prove one's own mettle – 'I too can compose *Lalu' vaakh* - or devious plagiarism to hitch a lowly cart to the lofty star, though other poets may also have wished to emulate the genre popularized by Lal. All these endeavors would have passed into the body of folk lore – chaff and grain, dirt and diamond, all collated together. Besides, the *vaaks* of Lal and *shruks* of Nunda got all mixed together in private collections, copies, even, published compilations.

A great disability here was the lack of appreciation of a critical approach. Language, diction, syntax, the historical linguistics etc. are all twentieth century elucidations, which did not bother the earlier compilers. Such discernment was singularly absent when the first recording of the *vaakhs* and *shruks* were made, three centuries ago in *Nuur Naamaas*. It is strange that the prolific poet, scholar and copyist Shri Kantth, living in the late Aurangzebian era, did not copy the *vaakhs*. Probably, it was because his contemporary Bhaaskaraacharya had undertaken the job.

As it is the literature of Kashmir Shaivism, beginning with the very *Shiva Stutraavali*, is full of *vaakyas*, verses, expositions, couplets and *shlookaas* expounding the Shaiva lore. Adding to it the observation of Bilhan, the 13TH century CE poet, that all men and women of Kashmir were well educated and could recite *shlookaas* at the drop of a hat, gives us a picture where the very profound truths, in easy and recitable form, were at the tongue-tips of the people. In fact, so huge a body of Shaivist *shlookas* has survived the wholesale destruction of these 'books of kings and gods' - as Sayyid Ali calls[103] them in his *taariikh* - that Lalu' Vaakh do not appear very earth shaking there. Quite a bit of that stupendous body of literature, with scholarship too, would've survived till the Mugal times. Lal's poesy may not have been seen as something very indispensable. Then times turned harsh; the scholarship dwindled. That probably forced Bhaaskar Raazdaan to make a collection, the first one, of the *vaakhs* of Lal. Then came the Afghans; the degradations piled and the rich lore became a liability. By the time Grierson sent Mukund Ram Shastri to go looking for the *vaakhs* of *Lal*, the learned pundit had to travel to the far away village Gushi, in Kamraaz, to locate a source.

After Grierson's compilation there was a deluge of compilers of Lal. Shastri himself produced a compilation with Sanskrit translation of the *vaakhs*. This flood has the credit of having put a huge body of *vaakh* text before us. But for these enthusiasts most of the *vaakhs* would've been lost, especially with English, modernism and a disdain for all things indigenous, overtaking the latter half of the twentieth century. This deluge, however, led to two very unhealthy trends. One was a furious 'me-too-Lal-compiler' race. Critical judgement was rarely invoked; the concerns of Lal's age, language and diction were seldom addressed. This may even have led to some deliberate distortion of the *vaakhs* to give uniqueness to the compilation. Others just piled up all that their grand-grandmothers did or could recite and got it published.

The second unhealthy trend it bred was born of the politics of Kashmiri language. Learned, scholarly people saw in the

103 Taariikhi Sayyid Alii, Persian text, 1993, page 27

modernized and interpolated *vaakhs* a basis to prove that Kashmiri language was as developed five centuries ago as it is today. The thesis thus built, hypothesized that a language so well developed half a millennium ago, must be older still. That is an exhilarating thought for any language. It also became a political bogey. That hypothesis 'proved' to the politicians that Kashmiri language was something unique without realising that hypotheses prove nothing and need proof. Sane professors vied with jaunty politicians to proclaim that Kashmiri predated Sanskrit. Some hypothesized that Kashmiri did not change over thousands of years, while Sanskrit went through as many as three transformations.

In this endeavor to outdo Sanskrit, the truth of Kashmiri itself got debunked. This was flawed thesis yet its currents are still reverberating. As pointed out elsewhere too, a single fact is enough to dislodge all the interpolations and disprove the interpretations based on them: Lal lived betwixt two famous writers -- a century after Shitikantth the author of *Mahaanaiprakaash* and a century before Bhatta Avtaar, the author of *Baanaasurvadha.* Both the works, in the then recorded form, are available to us. They show that the then Kashmiri was nowhere near the Kashmiri as it is spoken now; it is far farther from the 'modern' diction of the vast body of *vaakhs* attributed to Lal today. Only few *vaakhs* of Lal, barely those of Bhaaskarachaaryaa's *Vaakyaanii*, conform to the Kashmiri of Shitiikanth and Bhatta Avtaar, and that too rather loosely showing the wear, tear and shear in the mouth of four intervening centuries. This comparison also shows that far from being 'eternal and unchanging' Kashmiri was actually being born in the age of Lal. Yet, the facts were swept under and the flawed thesis promoted. Thus a contemporary writer says in 2008: "this language existed earlier to Ashoka's occupation of Kashmir in 3RD century BCE".[104] His assertions are based[105] on the ancient claims of Grierson about cycles of Aryan invasion and layered Indo-Aryan, which have been dismissed by countless writers, the latest and the most comprehensive being in 1997[106].

---

104 *Kaa'shiryuk Graamar,* 2008, Shafi Shooq, N S Publications, Shupyan, Kashmir, page 47
105 *Kaa'shiryuk Graamar, ibid.,* page 55-57
106 Kashmiri – A Cognitive-Definitive Grammar, 1997, Kashi Wali and Omkar N Koul, Routledge, London, Intro-

The most callous result of this fallacious thinking was an absolute in-attention to the text of Lal vaakh. The same applies to most of the *shruks* now attributed to Nunda Rishii. Even, Jayalal Kaul, the only credible compiler of Lalu' *vaakh* who exercised a critical acumen in the final version of his Lal Dyad as mentioned before, begins his collation with the famous: *aami panu' sudras naavi chhas lamaan*. Its poesy would make people to attribute it to none but Lal. Then there is the thought, the layers of meaning *et al*. But could a poetess living betwixt Shitiikanth and Bhatta Avtaar have used this diction? It is too modern for even the 18TH/19TH century. Bhaaskara Aachaarya's compilation does not carry it. Grierson adds it at the tail end[107], after the patently supurious vaakhs like *gaa'filo! hu'ku' kadam tul* and *daman basti ditoo dam*.[108] Yet it would be blasphemy to hold that this *vaakh* does not belong to Lal. It has been quoted so well, so often, so devoutly that one has to suspend belief. It has brought about a total suspension of all discomfiting enquiries.

This is the theme of a unique work *Laldyad Myaani Nazri* by Bimla Raina, the well known poetess of *vaakh*.[109] Published in 2007, the work rewrites 79 *vaakhs* of Lal in what would, according to Bimla Raina, have been the original diction of the *vaakhs* of Lal Dyad before they got deranged in the public tongue. Bimla Raina has published two *vaakh* collections so far. Her own diction would appear quaint to the modern Kashmiris, because she writes in the language of Hindu women of Kashmir. Largely untouched by Persian, it preserves the original Kashmiri vocabulary and usage. It gives Bimla Raina a unique facilitiy and insight into the vaakhs of Lal, which few others possess.

That Persian (and Urdu) language and usage has influenced modern Kashmiri to a large extent, can be gauged from the fact that, about a century ago, George Abraham Grierson tried to distinguish two Kashmiris, the Hindu Kashmiri and the Muslim Kashmiri.[110] Bimla Raina is an unlettered Kashmiri matron who cannot

---

duction pages xiv-xviii

107 Grierson, Lalu' Vaakiyaanii, Vaakh no 106, page 117

108 Grierson, *ibid*., Vaakh no 99 & 100, pages 111, 112

109 Bimla Raina, 2007, *Laldyad Myaani Nazri*, published by N P Search, New Delhi

110 G A Grierson, Standard Manual Of Kashmiri Language, Vol I, Appendix I, Print 1999, Light And Life Publishers, Jammu, pages 65-67

read *nastaaliq*. She reads the *vaakhs* of Lal Dyad with her quaint eye and rare word-fund. There can be no doubt that her reading of Lal throws a much needed light upon the attrition and alteration which the *vaakhs* of Lal have suffered.

The 20TH century was an age of exploration. It opened great fronts. It was also the age of indiscrimate collation. Anything carrying the word Lal, anything showing an archaic hint, anything in the *vaakh* format was straight away credited to Lal. It began with Grierson himself who first preferred the recited version of *vaakhs* over the recorded version of Bhaaskaraachaarya. Then he added an Appendix to his Lal Vaakyaanii. None of the twelve vaakhs given there may reasonably be attributed to Lal. Later compilers exercised as little discretion. Due to their efforts we now have a huge body of 277 *vaakhs* attributed to Lal. That body needs thorough sifting, if we are to arrive at Lal.

Bhaaskaraachaarya, Grierson and Jiya Lal Kaul are three mile stones here. Bhaaskar was the first to compile the *vaakhs* of Lal, three hundred years ago in the first half of the eighteenth century. Two centuries later, Grierson was the first to render the vaakhs in the precise notatory system or script, which he had devised for writing Kashmiri in English alphabet.[111] While a number of compilations followed Grierson's *Lalu' Vaakyaanii*, and over a hundred and fifty *vaakhs* were added to the repertoire, few of these compilers paid attention to the text of the *vaakhs* or the notation they were transcribed in. This task was undertaken by Jayalal Kaul, in the 2ND edition of his Lal Dyad, published in 1975. By that time a modification, of the Persio-Arabic script, for writing Kashmiri had come into use. As discussed elsewhere, only a score of 'new *vaakhs*' have surfaced after the last edition of Kaul's work, though there may be some rehashes of the old distortions here and there. Jayalaal Kaul also exercised, for the first time, a critical discretion, and sifted out over a hundred *vaakhs* as doubtful.

This work is primarily based on these sources. The *vaakhs* of Lal have been divided into two classes here. Class I comprises of the

111 Grierson, did have some peculiar notions like, say, - certain succeeding vowels changing the sound of preceding vowels. There is also the question whether the sound bits used by Kashmiri now did exist, during the time of Lal.

vaakhs in *Lalu' Vaakyaanii* of Bhaaskaraachaarya, *Lalu' Vaakyaanii* of Grierson and the vaakhs considered genuine by Kaul. This class also contains half a dozen the pairs of the pedagogic *vaakhs* contained in these compilations. The very nature of the *vaakhs* indicates that first of the pair would not be of Lal, being a question, to which Lal is supposed to supply the answer in the second *vaakh* of the pair. The three vaakhs, believed to be compositions of Lal's husband, Guru and Lal herself also belong here. There is no doubt about one part being a vaakh of Lal Dyad. Apart from the vaakhs in Grierson's appendix, there are *vaakhs* in Greirson's compilation which have been proved to belong to others. There are patent doubts of diction regarding some *vaakhs* considered genuine by Kaul. There are two vaakhs in this which Jayalal Kaul too considered doubtful and did not include in his English Lal Dyed. For the rest, there are the least doubts about the genuineness of these *vaakhs*.

Class II is the group, comprising nearly half of the total body of *vaakhs* of Lal, which raise doubts. Included here are *vaakhs* some which appear in Rwpu' Bhavaanii's *Rahsya Updeesha* and many in *Nuurnaamas* as *shrukhs* of Shaikh Nuurudiin. A good part of these *vaakhs*, especially those collected by Anand Kaul, Wanchoo and Jalaalii appear too modern in diction, to be considered genuine. In fact, many of the 'new' *vaakhs* appearing in Kaul in the Class I are his selections from this body of *vaakhs*. The intrinsic merit of the *vaakhs* may have determined Kaul, but the diction of the *vaakhs* could hardly have been current in Lal's time. Besides these, there are *vaakhs* which have suffered much interpolation. Finally some *vatsans* and *mangled bhajans* too have entered the body of Lalu' Vaakh. These clutches have been arranged accordingly, with the decisively non-*vaakhs* at the end of the class.

An attempt has here been made to put the *vaakhs* in a time-scale determined by the reliableness of the compilers. Thus we first separate the original sixty *vaakhs* of Bhaaskaraachaarya. Next the additional *vaakhs* which Mukund Raam Shaastrii and Grierson considered genuine, though the patently non-*vaakhs* have been sifted out. Next we put the *vaakhs* that Jayalal Kaul considers genuine. There

may be doubts here too, as discussed above, but broadly the critical accomplishment of that great scholar of Lal cannot but be lauded. Then come the doubtful and suspect *vaakhs*. Logically, there cannot be much choosing here. Some *vaakhs* are known or suspected to belong to different poets. They have been put aside as one group. Then there are some which can reliably be seen as *non-vaakhs*, these are put at the end as *non-vaakhs*. The remaining ones are the doubtful, distorted or doggerels, forming a separate group. This breakup of the doubtful ones should at least drum some sense into the *Vaakh sea* into which many people are still diving in the hope of finding new nuggets here and there.

A word about the translation of the vaakhs would be in order. This author believes that poesy is a special experience that the poet alone can relive, and, that too only limitedly. For the rest, the meaning the poets read in their poesy is a special experience of theirs. Of course, there are poems, verses and whole books, whose import is patent without ambiguity. Most of these need no paraphrasing and are easily understood. However, there is a huge body of poesy that demands a study. Betimes there are quaint expressions, phrases and idioms and unfamiliar symbols and motifs that ask for attention as well as insight. More often there are experiences, revelations and observations that the poet too may have failed to ken completely.

Spiritual, mystic or esoteric poesy often poses this dauntfull challenge. Many a time verses carry layers of meaning, either accidental or contrived. In true esoteric poetry, the experience is so unique that the language fails to portray it. The poet, if at hand, can tell and may be able to explain; others have to embark upon a guessing game. Invariably, they read their own experiences, predilections even intents into the text. Unless there are underlying agendas, which unfortunately is not uncommon, none of it may be called illegitimate. Yet, they can hardly claim to be what the poet meant; at best they remain interpretations. Nobody can vouchsafe for the truth of the reading or interpretation there. Lalu' *vaakh* fall in this category.

One can read a sea of meaning into every word, phrase and verse depending on one's study, leaning, experience *et. al*. None of this may be questioned, nor may it claim an absolute insight. It is all a tricky ground where everything is sheer assumption. For all one knows, the *vaakh* may have meant what the mundane words ordinarily imply. That is so far as readings in the original language and line of the *vaakh* are concerned.

Translation rides upon all the problems of reading listed above, hoping to ascend the cragy hill of transposition. With an occidental language lacking the conceptual framework of the orginal poet's language, the task becomes huge. People try to get over it through transcreation. But translation is not a Transcreation; it does not even allow that. It is not even what the translator has understood. Translation is a gateway, into the original for a reader who cannot access it. By definition it has to be as close to the original as possible, with the limitations of language the sole concession.

For a translation the problems are insurmountable. The equivalent words of English and Kashmiri do not stand for the same conceptions. Even as universal a thing as a cup would carry different implications in the particular words *khoos, pyaalu'* and *baanu'* used. That may well lead to a conclusion that translation into a language lacking the conceptual frame of the poet is impossible except when it dilates into a paraphrase. It is well nigh impossible!

In fact, the original import can never be reproduced in a translation; you can at best have an approximation of the original. That said, the chances of deviating from the original import are great. A translation must not, but often does, set out on a journey the poet may never have envisaged. A slight in-attention and you have a transcreation in place of a translation. That is a huge departure from the original. You may want to transcreate, but that is an act of forsaking the subject. You leave the poet and the poetry behind. Some people see this self-journey as the goal of translation. It isn't.

Translation is of the poet; self-journey relates to the translator. Here the translator has taken the poet for a ride and taken off on a flight of his/her own fancy. As it is, the very language shift in

translation imposes a departure of sorts. Tinker even a bit and the truth is gone — the truth of the original, the truth of the poet and the poesy under study. A translator is duty bound is to remain as close to the original as the linguistic shift permits. The import of the original words must be caught to the fullest; the translator must carry the reader to the realm and reality of the poet being translated.

Even so, there is another problem viz., that understanding or the reading of the alien reader: would the outsider appreciate the concepts the original carries. That is the challenge, for the translator, though it can never be met fully, for it involves the reader too. A peculiar effect here is that a translation may elevate even mundane lines. The predominant character in poetry is the poesy. That part can be discerned only in the original language, whose acquaintance would thereby be indispensable for full experience. Accordingly, there is an urge, an earnest one to be sure, on the part of the translator to give the foreign reader, a full taste of the thing. Unfortunately there opens the pit of deviation and dailance with the fall almost inevitable: the translator has left the poet and begun transferring his/her own self and mind to the reader.

Negotiating these hazards is the job and challenge of translation. Every translator has to find a way out there. God save the author whose translator chooses to ignore the challenge; the reader there has irretrievably been given over to the devil. This translation bears these hazards and horrors in mind. It tries to open the gates of the original to the reader, as much as ones capacity enables one to do so and the constraint of the language permits it.

The methodology employed here has been to translate in as common-place an idiom as possible, with absolute abstainment from the attempts to teach or expound Lal. One believes that Lal's import cannot be taught. A reader must catch it and the translator is only a mediator, a facilitator who eases the task but does not do the job. The lines are simple, implications clear and the intention only to be indicative. It is up to the reader, to decide how much he/she wants to catch the *vaakh*.

One may be allowed to say that the best translation of Lal ever is Templeton's but it is all his own having little to do with what Lal said! Additionally the long pontification he made on what he takes to be the philosophy of Lal, is too far removed from the philosophical milieu of Lal viz. Kashmir Shaivism. This is as good an illustration as possible of the how hard this task is and how stupendous the effort.

Indices of the Vaakhs of Lal Dyad

Bhaaskar index (60 vaakhs Of Lal Dyad)	Bhaaskar	Grierson	Kaul	Vaakh
A, AA, A', AA' AV				
Aayas kami dishi tu' kami vatee	41	41	I-5	**41**
Abyaa'sy svikaa'sy layi vothuu	1	1	I-134	**1**
Akuy omkar yus nabi daree	34	34	I-72	**34**
Anaahat kha svaruup shanyaalai	15	15	I-123	**15**
Asi pwndi zasi zami	46	46	I-7	**46**
Atshyan aayi tu' gatshan gatshee	19	19	I-7	**19**
B				
Baan gol tai prakaash aav zuunee	9	9	I-85	**9**
CH, /CHH				
D,				
Damu damu' kormas daman aayee	4	4	I-98	**4**
Diiv vattaa divur vattaa	17	17	I-66	**17**
Dwaadu'shaant manddal yas	33	33	I-71	**33**
Dyan tshezi tu' razan aasai	22	22	I-118	**22**
DD, /DH, /DDH,				
E, EE				
G				
Gaal ga'nddynyam bool pa'ddynyam	21	21	I-38	**21**
Gagan tsu'y buutal tsu'y	42	42	I-70	**42**

H				
Haasu' bool paddinyam saasaa	18	18	I-39	**18**
Hee gwraa parmeeshwraa	56	56	I-95	**56**
Hyath ka'rith raaj pheerinaa	12	12	I-48	**12**
I, II,				
J				
K				
Kandyav grih tai kandyav van vaas	55	55	I-109	**55**
Keenh chhii nendri ha'tii vudii	32	32	I-112	**32**
Kus push tu' kwsu' pushmiaa'nii	39	39	I-68	**39**
Kush poosh, teel, diif, zal naa gatshee	45	45	I-67	**45**
KH				
Khyath ga'nddith shami noo maanas	27	27	I-30	**27**
L				
Lal boo draayas loolaree	3	3	I-97	**3**
Lal boo luusu's tshaaraan tu' gaaraan	48	48	I-74	**48**
Luub maarun sahaz vyatsaarun	30	30	I-90	**30**
M				
Makras zan mal tsolum manas	31	31	I-100	**31**
Mal vwndi zoolum	49	49	I-86	**49**
Man push tai yatsh pushaa'nii	40	40	I-69	**40**
Mansu'y maan bav saras	23	23	I-41	**23**
Muudd zaa'nith pa'shith ti on	20	20	I-40	**20**
N				
Naabistaanu' chhai prakrath za-lu'vu'ny	57	57	I-96	**57**
Naath naa paan naa par zoonum	7	7	I-130	**7**
O,OO				
P				
Paanas laa'gith roovukh me tsu'y	44	44	I-137	**44**
Par tai paan yemy som moonoo	5	5	I-133	**5**
Pavan puurith yus ani vagi	37	37	I-51	**37**

Yimai she tse timai she me	13	13	I-129	**13**
Yi yi karm korum su arstun	58	58	I-139	**58**
Yus maataa ruup pai diyee	54	54	I-81	**54**
Z				
Zal thamu'vun hutu'vah tu'ru'naavun	38	38	I-113	**38**
Zanu'ni zaayaayee ra'ty taa'y kuu'tii	51	51	I-77	**51**

2. **Grierson Index** (41 Vaakhs)	Grierson	Kaul	**Vaakh**
A			
Aayas vatee ga'yas nu' vatee	98	I-5	**92**
Aami panu' sodras naavi chhas lamaan	106	I-1	**97**
a'chhan hyuv nu' prakaash kunee	App-I	I-140 B	**135**
A'ndarii aayas tsu'ndaru'y gaaraan	109	I-128	**100**
Athu' mabaa traavun khar baa	88	I-35	**86**
B			
CH			
D			
Da'mii ddiitthu'm ga'j dazu' vu'nii	97	I-11	**91**
Da'mii ddiitthu'm nad vah vu'nii	96	I-10	**90**
Doby yali chhaa'vnas doby	103	I-104	**94**
E, EE			
F			
G			
Gaattulah akh vuchhum bwchhi	83	I-9	**83**
Gwran voonum kunuy vatsun	94	I-21	**88**
Gyaanu' maarg chhai haaku' vaa'r	63	I-63	**63**
Gyaanu'ky ambar paa'rith tanee	76	I-102	**76**
H			
Haa manshi kyaazi chhukh	107	I-15	**98**

INDEX of ALL *VAAKHS* attributed to LAL DYAD

PLEASE NOTE:

B-1,2,... denotes that the *vaakh* is first found in Lalla Vaakyaanii of Bhaaskaraachaaryaa, the number indicating serial number of the Vaakh in the collection.

G-60, 61, ... that the *vaakh* is first found in Lal Vaakyaanii of George Grierson, the number indicating the serial number of the *vaakh* in the collection.

K-1,2,..... denotes that the vaakh is first given in Lal Dyad *(kashmiri) of Jayalal Koul. These *vaakhs* are actually given in collections of different compilers, which have been indicated in the *vaakh* proper.

S-I:1,2,.... denotes that the first reference of the *vaakh* is in Lall Vaakh of B N Sopore, the second letter indicating the volume I or II and the figure, the *vaakh* number in the said volume.

H-2 ... is given in S N Handoo's announcement of the Amar Nath Handoo's compilation of the *vaakhs* of Lal, only four having been published there.

Index of all Vaakhs	EARLIST REFERENCE	**VAAKH NUMBER**
A, AA, A', AA' AV		
Abyaa'sy svikaa'sy layi vothuu	B-1	**1**
Asi pondi zasi zami	B-46	**46**
Akuy omkaar yus nabi daree	B-34	**34**
Anaahat kha svaruup shanyaalai	B-15	**15**
Aami panu' sodras naavi chhas laman	G-106	**97**
Aayas kami dishi tu' kami vatee	B-41	**41**
Abyaasy kiny vyakaas pholum	K-230	**231**

PART-I

Vaakhs of Lal Dyad

Vaakh No. 1

(Bhaaskar-1/Grierson-1/Kaul-134)[112]

abhyaa'sy savikaa'sy layi vothoo
gaganas sagan myuul samu tsrattaa
shuuny gol tu' anaamai motu
yohai vwpdeesh chhuy battaa

abhyaa'sy - one striving in the spiritual path, *yoogii savikaa'sy* - the one who has expanded, evolved by oneself. Creation is the descent of *chit-ti* into differentiation, awakening is realising the oneness as differentiation melts away - that is *laya*, the evolution, transcending the differentiated world to realise the Oneness. *Gagan* - sky, the fine; *Sagan*-the coarse, earth; *anaamai-nameless, Om; Battu'*- abbr. from *Bhattaarka*, the venerated.

[The striving, evolving one did arise;
Coarse and the fine merged, turned one;
The void melted away, only Om did abide:
This is the message, O learned one.]

112 The text of the *vaakhs* given is generally as per 4th edition of Jayalal Kaul's Lal Dyad, Kashmiri in *nastaaliik* script, published by JKAACL. The text of the *vaakhs* as per Bhaaskar Aachaarya is that given in the manuscript no 85 of 18-5-1876 of Bhandharkar Oriental Library. This text has been designated as BTB. Another version of the text published by Research Department, J&K Govt was downloaded from mukhtibod.org (designated BRD). The text of Grierson is as per the Lalla Vakyani by G A Grierson and L D Barnett, Oxford University Press, in 1920, digital edition (designated LV-G).

Bhaaskar[113] text:

abhyaasee savikaas lay uthoo
gaganas sagun milee sami tsrattaa
shuunya galoo tu' anaamay mutoo
yahuy upadeesh chhooy battaa

Grierson text:

abhyaa'sy savikaa'sy layi vwthuu
gaganas sagun myuul sami tsrattaa
shuu'ny[114] gol tu' anaamai mwtuu
yuhuy vwpadeesh chhuy battaa

Vaakh No.2

(Bhaaskar-2/Grierson-2/Kaul-135)

vaakh maanas kwl akwl naa atee[115]
tshwpi mudri ati naa praveesh
roozaan shiva shakhat naa atee
mwtiyee kunh tu' suy vwpdeesh

Vaakh - word, the final manifestation in the 4-stage agitation, *maanas- man,* the mind; *kwl* - totality of the 36 *tat-tvas i.e Param Shiva* from which all *tat-tvas* differentiate; *Akwl* - non; *tat-tva* - non-existence; *tshwpu'* - silence, the stage prior to the 4-stage agitation; *mudri -mudraa,* the gestures made with fingers.

113 The text of Bhaaskaraachaarya does not use any special marks to distinguish the special sounds current in Kashmiri now, (denoted by RRK as a', aa', - y, w, etc.) and uses normal *maatraas* a, aa, ee, u etc. The version given here is as it is given in the hand-written text, BTB.

114 It approximates rendering of the word by Kashmiri Muslims. Grierson invariably uses this version with this and other words. See *infra*

115 *Vaakh* ... 'By speech alone, your Majesty, Brahman is known. Speech indeed O king, is the Highest Brahma' (Yajnavakha, Brahdar. Upni. IV, 1.2.)... *maanas* as chit-ta is nothing else than *chiti* (Supreme Conscience) in the form of the limited subject (and) descended from the stage of *cheetnaa,* that is bent on comprehending object (Quoted from Vijnanabhairav) ... and (*kwl*) *kula* which has been explained in *Tantra* as the seat of *Shakti* in the microcosm of the human body at the *Muulaadhaar*... and *Akula* (*Akwl*) or *Sahasraar,* the abode of *Parama* Shiva" (The Ascent Of Self, B N Parimoo, 2ND ed, 1987, Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, pages 93-94)

[There ain't word, mind, being and non-being;
Silence, symbols - nothing exists there:
Shiva and Shaktii too are transcended there:
Whatever remains (then) that alone abides.]

Bhaaskar text:

vaak maanas kul akul naa ati
tshupi mudri na ati praveesh
ruzan Shiva Shakt naa ati
mutooyee koonh sooy updeesh

Grierson text:

vaakh maanas kwl akwl naa atee
tshwpi mudri ati naa praveesh
roozan Shiva-Shakhu't naa atee
mwtiyuy kunh ta suy vwpadeesh

Vaakh No.3

(Bhaaskar-3/Grierson-3/Kaul-97)

Lal bw draayas loolaree
tshaanddaan luusum dyan kyih raat
vuchhum panddith panani garee
suy me rottmas nakhyatur tu' saath

loolaree–the quest of love; *luusum*–was spent out, exhausted; *nakhyatu'r*–(suited) conjunction of stars; *saath*–auspicious time

[Lal, I set out on the quest of love
Night-n-day, I searched for Thou;
The Pandit I saw in my own body,
There and thenI came to know!]

Bhaaskar text:

Lal-la bu draayis loolari
tshaanddan luutshum din kyooh raat
oochhum panddeet panani gari
sooy rattoomas nakshatra ta saat

Grierson text:

Lal bwh draayas loola ree
tshaanddaan luustum dyan kyoh raath
vuchhum panddith panani garee
suy me rottu'mas nyachhatur ta saath

Vaakh No. 4

(Bhaaskar-4/Grierson-4/Kaul-98)

damu' damu' kormas daman aayee
prazlyoom diif tu' naneeyam zaath
a'ndrim prakaash nyabar tshottum
gatti rottum tu' ka'rmas thaf.

damu' damu' - by and by; *damun* - blow into; *gatti* - in darkness

[Slowly, steadily my self did control;
My lamp alight, I saw my troth;
The light within, out did broadcast:
The True I held in the dark, fast.]

Bhaaskar text:

damaadam karoomas daman hiili
prajloom diip tu' naniyam zaat[116]
a'ndrim prakaash nyabar tshottum
gatti rottum tu' ka'rmas thaf

116 The *vaakh* in the BTB manuscript (folio 1, line 8) ends here and the Sanskrit translation begins. The rest has been taken from Mukti Bodh text of BRD, page 2.

Grierson text:

damah dam koru'mas daman-haalee
prazalyoom diif ta nanyeeyam zaath
a'ndryum prakaash nyabar tshottum
gatti rottum ta ku'ru'mas thaf

Vaakh no. 5

(Bhaaskar-5/Grierson-5/Kaul-133)

par taa'y paan yamy som moon
yemy hyuv moon dyan kihoo raath
yemisu'y aduy man sapun
tamii ddyuutthuy sur guru' naath

par – the other; *paan* – the self; *dyan* – day; *aduy* – oneness, not two, non-dualism

[One-n-other, alike who kenned,
Took night-n-day as the same:
He whose mind became non-dual,
He alone saw the preceptor nigh.]

Bhaaskar text:

par ta paan yamee samoo jaanoo
yamee hihuy maanoo din kyaav raat
yas advay man sa'mpanoo
tameey dditthooy sur guru naath

Grierson text:

par taa'y paan yemy som moon
yamy hyuvu' moon dyan kyooh raath
yamisaa'y aduy man sapun
tamiiy ddyuutthuy sura-guru-naath

Vaakh No. 6

(Bhaaskar-6/Grierson-6/Kaul-119)

tsidaanandas gyaanu' prakaashas
yimoov tsyuun tim ziivanty mwkhu't
vishmyas samsaarnis paashyas
abody ganddah shath shety dith

tsyat - conscience; *aanand* - bliss; *gyaana* - knowledge; ***Prakaasha*** - the ultimate realisation; *Jiivan muukhy* - liberated from the bonds but living; *paash* - bonds that bind, bonds put a person into *pashu-dasha,* the bounden state.

[Chit, aanand, gyaana and prakaasha:
They who lived it were liberated in life.
Ever bound in the sorry web of world,
The lightless, with a hundred knots, remain.]

Bhaaskar text:

chidaanandas gyaana prakaashas
eemav chino teem jiivantii muktii
visheem samsaarnees paashas
abud-dhav shat shat ganddaa deetiyee

Grierson text:

tsidaanandas gyaana prakaashyas
yimav tsyuunu' tim ziivanty mwkhu't
vishyamis samsaarnis paashyas
abwdy ganddah shath shety dity

Vaakh No. 7

(Bhaaskar-7/Grierson-7/Kaul-130)

naath naa paan naa par zoonum
sadaa'y boovum iyiikuy deh
tse bo bw tse myul noo zoonum
tse kus, bw kwsu', chhu sandeeh

boovum - expounded, focussed upon; *buudum* - knew, understood; *deh* - body

[Lord, neither self nor the other I kenned;
Ever my being I saw as the lone one.
Knew not the unity in Thee and me:
Thee and me: that is the illusion see!]

Bhaaskar text:

naath naa paan naa par jaanaa
sadaroo bhoodhak aish deeh
chuu bu buu chuu miilee naa jaanaa
chuu ksa, bu ksa, chhoo sandeeh

Grierson text:

Naatha! naa paan naa par zoonum[117]
sadaa'y boodum yih kaa'deeh[118]
tsu'h bwh bwh tsu'h myul naa zoonum
tsu'h kus, bwh kwsu', chhuh sandeeh

117 Variant '*na parzoonum*' LV-G page 28
118 Variant '*sadaa'y goorum yehkuy deeh*' LV-Gpage 28

Vaakh̤ No. 8

(Bhaaskar-8/Grierson-8/Kaul-71)

Shiv vaa, Keeshav vaa, Zin vaa
kamu'lazu' naath naam daa'rin yuvah
me abli kaa'sytan bavu'ruz
su vaa, su vaa, su vaa, su

Shiva - Shiva*Keeshav* - Vishnu *Zin* -Buddha *kamu'laz naath* - born on the lotus, Brahma; *Abli* - frail being *Bavu' raz* - (*bhuu*, the earth) the earthly bond

[Be it Shiva, Keeshava or the Buddha[119]
Lotus-borne Brahma: whatever the name be:
The one who frees this weakling, me,
He is the one, the One is he!]

Bhaaskar text:

Shiv vaa, Keeshav vaa, Jin vaa
Kamalaz naathaa naam daarin yoo yoo
mi abali kaaseetan bhava ruj
soo vaa, soo vaa, soo vaa, soo

Grierson text:

Shiv vaa, Keeshyav vaa, Zin vaa
Kamalazanaath naam daa'rin yuh
me abali kaa'sytan bḥava-ruz
suh vaa, suh vaa, suh vaa, suh

119 *Zin*, corrupted later to '*jin*', is the name by which Buddha, the knowing one, was known in Kashmir.

Vaakh No. 9

(Bhaaskar-9/Grierson-9/Kaul-85)

baan gol taay pra'kaash aav zuunee
tsa'ndu'r gol taay motuy tsyath
tsyath gol taay keenh ti naa kunee
gai bhuur bhuvah swr vyasarzith kyath

baan -the Sun*tsa'ndu'r* - the moon *Tsyath* - consciousness (the Sun and moon as seen as a continuum with human conscience) ***bhuu*** - earth *Bhuvah* - sky, ether *Sva* - soul

[The Sun sets and the moon gets the light,
Moon gone, yet the conscience doth abide,
With consciousness gone, nothing remains;
Earth, sky, soul... all, vanish from sight.]

Bhaaskar text:

bhaan galoo taa prakaash jooni
chandra galoo taa mutoo chit-ta
chit-ta galoo ta keenchh naa kooni
gay bhuu bhuvah svah visarjan kit

Grierson text:

baan golu' taa'y prakaash aav zuunee
tsa'ndu'r golu' taa'y mwtuy tsyath
tsyath golu' taa'y keenh ti naa kunee
gay bhuur bhuvah sar vyasarzith kyath[120]

120 Variant : *svar miilith ta kotu'* (LV-G page-30)

Vaakh No.10

(Bhaaskar-10/Grierson-10/Kaul-61)

vwth ra'nyaa artsun sakhar

athi al pal vakhur hyath

yod vanai zaanakh param pad akhyar

he shikhar khe shikhar hyath[121]

ra'nyaa – *fem.* of Rainaa, said to be a derivation of Rajanaka, the elite, a respectful address; *artsun* – worship; *sakhar* – commence preparations; *al pal vokhur* – wine, meat and *yaa'j*, a special cup-like bread, made of rice flour and cooked in oil; *param pad*, – the primal word, Om; *akhyar* – *akshar*, syllable, the conjoint of *svar* and *vyanjan*

[Come O lady, thy preparation begin

Wine, meat and bread, all at hand:

If thou, the sublime word, do know

Thy worship, either way, is grand.]

Bhaaskar text:

vvoth[122] rainyaa artsun sakhar

athee al pal vakhur hit

yadi jaanak paramoo pad ak akhur

khisheekhur hisheekhur tit/sit

Grierson text:

vwth ra'nyaa archun sakhar

athee al-pal vakhur hyath

yodu' vanai zaanakh param pad akhyar

hishiy khwsh-khwr kyatha khyath

121 The line is not clear. There are variant renderings. Anand Kaul renders this line to imply: "arise O *shaakta* lady and worship with the wine etc: if you know the imperishable, what harm can there ever be!" Grierson's rendering, leans on the *kwlaachaar*, implying that for one who is aware of the primal word, the different even opposing ways make no difference, *khosh* is left handed.

122 The first word in the Sanskrit translation is '*utishtt*' (arise), whose straight *tadbhav* resultant is the Kashmiri word '*vwth*' (get up, arise). However, the BTB manuscript clearly writes '*tat*'. Likewise the last word of the vaakh could be a mis-written '*sit*', but there is no hint of '*ha*' or '*hi*' or '*hya*' there (folio2, line 6). However, the text of Bhaaskaraachaarya published by Research Deptt (BRD) carries the word 'vvath' – which may be the editor's rendering of '*vwth*' (Mukhtibod.org text, page 5)

Vaakh No. 11

(Bhaaskar-11/Grierson-11/Kaul-89)

tanthu'r gali taa'y manthu'r mwtsee
manthu'r gol taa'y motuy tsyath
tsyath gol taa'y keenh ti naa kunee
shuunyas[123] shuunyah miilith gwv

Tantra—the books or scriptures; *Mantra*—the mystic formulae *Chit-t*—the being; Kashmir Shaivism distinguishes *Chit-ta*, the in-dwelling being, *Chit*, the mind or *maanas* and *Chit-ti*, the Universal Conscience. *shuunya-nirvikalpa* state, total absence of thought or *vikalpas*.

[*Tantra* worn, there remained mantra;
***Mantra* worn, there remained *chit-t*;**
***Chit-t* worn, nothing doth remain:**
Nothing to nothingness doth attain!]

Bhaaskar text:

tantra gali mantra machishi
mantra gali ta mutoo chit-ta
chit-ta yili gali kinchh naa kooni
shuunyas shuunyaa miliith gav

Grierson text:

tanthu'r gali taa'y manthu'r mwtsee
manthu'r golu' taa'y mwtuy tsyath
tsyath gol taa'y keenh ti naa kunee
shuunyas shuunyah miilith gav

123 All the *tat-tvas* as per Kashmir Shaivism (KS) are experients; they abide not and evance when the higher experient state is attained. Evancement of all experient levels is, *shuunyah* — nothingness. This, is not a void but a dissolution of the grosser state or *tat-tva* or *pramaataa* into a finer one. Hence, it means that *Shiv pramaataa* (experient) becomes one with Shiva. *Vritsu'* or *vikalpaas* i.e thought-constructs are distractions that keep *purusha* from kenning the oneness. Decimation of alternating thoughts leads to the stage called *vigyaanaakaal*. This is also called *shuunya*, being the state of thoughtlessness.

Vaakh No. 12

(Bhaaskar-12/Grierson-12/Kaul-48)

hyath ka'rith raaj feeri naa
dith ka'rith traptii naa man
luub vyanaa ziiv mari naa
ziivant mari taa'y su chhuy gyaan

hyath ka'rith - having possessed; *feerinaa* - will not turn away; *dith ka'rith* - having forsaken;*luub* - greed

[Ruling realms bringeth no peace;
With give and take the mind doesn't sate:
There is no death but for the desire there;
Be a living-dead, and that is the point.]

Bhaaskar text:

hit kareet raajya fari naa
deet kareet trapti naa man
loob vinaa jiiv mari naa
jiivantoo mari taa sooy gyaan

Grierson text:

hyath karith raajya feeri naa
dith karith truptii naa man
luub vyanaa ziiv mari naa
ziivontu' mari taa'y su chhuy gyaan

Vaakh No. 13

(Bhaaskar-13/Grierson-13/Kaul-129)

yimai she tse timai she me
shyaamu' galaa tse vyan taa'ttu's
yohai byan biid tse tu' me
tsu' shyan svaa'mii boo she mushis

she tse..... she me – the six Thine and the six mine[124]; *taattun* – to trouble; *byan* – split, break; *biid* –difference

[The six you have, I have'em too
O Blue-Throated One , I'm lost sans you:
Yet the difference sets Ye apart from me
That You hold'em all and I forgot the call]

Bhaaskar text:

yeemai sha chi teemai sha mi
shaam galaa chi vinuu taattus chhyoo
yoohuy bhinnabheed chi ta mi
chuu shin svaamii bhu shiy mashuus

Grierson text:

yimai sheh tse timai sheh me
Shyaama-gala! twye vyan toottu's
yohai byan abeeda tse ta me
tsu'h shyan svaa'mii bwh she mushu's

124 The difference of *param tat-tva* and *purush tat-tva* is the cognition of the six powers: limitless (*asankuuchit*) with the former, limited (*sankuuchit*) with the later. Else, the six powers or qualities are the same. Shiva *tat-tva* has the limitless *maayaa shaktii, sarva karitritva, sarva gyaantaa, puurantaa, nityataa, vyaapakta* (limitless power, sway, knowledge, perfection, etermity and pervasiveness). In *purush tat-tva* they are limited *maayaa, kalaa, vidyaa, raag, kaal* and *niyatii* (limited power, sway, knowledge, desire, time and space). Boundless, they define the Lord; limited, they restrain the *purush*, as the six *kunchakaas* (cloaks) hemming in the *jiiva* and turning it into *samsaarii*.

Vaakh No. 14

(Bhaaskar-14/Grierson-14/Kaul-122)

Shiv gur taa'y Keeshav palu'nas
Brahmaa paayeeryan vwlsyas
yuugii yoogu' kali parzaanyas
kus diiv ashvu'vaar pyatth cheeddees

gur – horse; *palu'ny* – the saddle,; *paayiryan* – stirrups; *parzaanyas-praznaavyas*, will recognise

[Shiv is the horse, Keeshav the saddle,
Brahma the stirrups, up doth bring;
The *yoogii* through *yoog*-power it'll ken:
Which deities shall ride this horse, then?]

Bhaaskar text:

Shiv gooroo Keeshav palanas
Brahmaa paayahrin ulasis
yoogii yoog kali parjaanyas[125]
koosoo deev ashvavaar pitth chyaddis

Grierson text:

Shiv gur taa'y Keeshev palanas
Brahmaa paayiryan vwlsyas
yogii yooga kali parzaanyas
kus deev ashvavaar pyatth cheeddyas

125 BTB manuscript (folio 2, lastline) uses the *'na'* of *tta-varga* which could as well be read as *'jaa'* of Shaardaa alphabet.

Vaakh No. 15

(Bhaaskar-15/Grierson-15/Kaul-123)

Anaahat, kha-swruup, shunyaalai
yas naav na varan na guthu'r na ruup
aham vimarsh naadu'byand yas von
su diiv ashvavaar pyatth cheeddyas

Anaahat – extending from letter 'a' to letter 'ha', the shabd Om; *Kha* – stands for *aakaash*, the skies above. *Kha* in *maatrikaa* is also the state just below the *maayaa* and above *purusha*; *Shuunyaalai* – is the state of total absence of all *vikalpaas* or thoughts. It is also called *vi-gyaanakaal*.*Ahm* is I-ness, the stage where all differences vanish and the realization that all the expansion, creation is one 'I' i.e Shiva. *Vimarsh* is the activity, the property conjoint with *Prakaasha* representing the totality of creation.'*Naad'* stands for Shakti and *'byand'* for Shiva. *naad-byand* are *shud-dha aadhavs* the two pure *tat-tvas*, Shakti and Shiva joined together. This is *Parama Shiva*, the equivalent of *Brahman* in Shankaracharya's *advaita*.

[OM itself, either-like, sans a thought,
Who of name, hue, caste and form hath naught:
Aware of I and action; Shakti-Shiv allied:
That diety alone, the (said) horse, would ride.]

Bhaaskar text:

anaahat kha-svaruup shuunyaalai
yas naav naa varn naa ruup naa gootr
aham ninaad bind ta yivoonoo
sooy deev ashvavaar pitth chyaddis

Grierson text:

anaahath kha-svaruup shuu'nyaalai
yas naav na vara'n na guthu'r na ruuf
aham vimarshe naad benduy yas vonu'
su deev ashvavaar pyatth cheeddyas

Vaakh No. 16

(Bhaaskar-16/Grierson-16/Kaul-83)

tuu'ri silal khott tai tuu'ree
himi tre gai byan abyan vimarshaa
tseetani rav baati sab samee
Shivmai tsaraatsar zag pasha

tuu'r - cold; *khott* - concealed; *tuuree* - with cold; *hiini* - snow; *byan abyan* - the one differentiated into many; *tsaraatsar* - *char* *achar*, moving and still;*zag pasha* - behold the creation

[Cold concealed water (as ice) and of the cooling
Came snow; in three, see the One being too many;
The Sun of thought rising, the variety doth stall:
Moving and the still-world, Shiva imbues all.]

Bhaaskar text:

tuuri salil khott tai tuurii
hyamya trigai bhinaabinn vimarshyaa
chaitany rav bhaati sab samee
Shivamai tsaraatsar zag pashyaa

Grierson text:

tuu'ri salil khott taa'y tuu'ree
hyami tra'h gay byan abyan vimarshaa
tsaitanye-rav baati sab samee
Shivamai tsaraatsar zag pashyaa

Vaakh No.17

(Bhaaskar-17/Grierson-17/Kaul-66)

diiv vattaa divur vattaa
pyatth bwn chhuy yiiku'vaatth
puuz kas karakh huuttu' battaa
kar manas tu' pavanas sangaatth

diiva - the Deity *Divur* - *Diivalaya*, Temple[126] *Vatta* - stone; ***man*** - mind; *pavan* - air, breath; *Sangaatth* - joined

[The icon is of stone, the temple of stone;
Joined, top to bottom, a unity they own;
Who'd you worship, O Knowing One:
Fuse thy mind and the breath to unison.]

Bhaaskar text:

deev vattaa deevaroo vattaa
pitth bhun chhooy yak vaatt
puuz kas karak hootta battaa
kar manas pavanas sangaatt

Grierson text:

deev vattaa divor vattaa
pyattha bwna chhuy yeeka vaatth
puuz kas karakh, hottaa battaa
kar manas ta pavanas sangaatth

126 Notably the stones used for carving and building temples etc., are called *Divu'ry Kani* (Temple Stones) in Kashmiri.

Vaakh No.18

(Bhaaskar-18/Grierson-18/Kaul-39)

aasu' bool paddinyam[127] saasaa
me mani vaasaa khiyeed naa heyee
boo yid sahaz Shankar bu'khu'ts aasaa
mukris saasaa mal kyah peyee

aasaa bool - unworthy utterances, abuses *khiyeed* - pique *mukris* - to the mirror *mal* - dirt *saas* - a thousand, ashes

[They may abuse me, a thousand fold
My mind is stilled, it'll take no pique,
For, I be Shankara's devotee true:
No ash will blur a shiny[128] mirror!]

Bhaaskar text:

aasu' bhul pareenam saasaa
mi mani vaasaa kheed na hi
yudvai Shankar bhakt aasaa
makuras svaasaa mal kyah pyayee

Grierson text:

aa'saa bool pa'rynem saasaa
me mani vaasaa khid naa heyee
boh yid sahaza Shankara-buu'khu'tsu' aasaa
makaris saasaa mal kyah peyee

127 Kaul writes *'haasu bool paddinyam' saying 'haasi'* is a Sanskrit word meaning 'to say something which makes the listener laugh'. Bhaaskaraachaarya's *aasaa bool* (*aa'su' bool*, Parimo) is closer to the Sanskrit *avaacha vaadaam* (unworthy utterances) from which the word derives.

128 Earlier, when the mirrors used to be metal plates, they were polished to a level where they became shiny enough to be perfect reflectors.

Vaakh No.19

(Bhaaskar-19/Grierson-19/Kaul-7)

atshyan aayi tu' gatshan gatshee
pakan gatshee dyan kyaav raath
yoorai aayi tuury gatshun gatshee
kenh natu' kenh, natu' kenh, natu' kyah

[Ceaselessly we come and go
Coursing through night and day
Whence we came, thence'd return;
Sure, there is something to this play!]

Bhaaskar text:

atshyan aayi ta gatshaan gatshi
pakaan gatshi din kyaav raat
yooraa aay toory gatshun gatshee
kenh natu' kenh, natu' kenh, natu' kyah

Grierson text:

atshyan aay ta gatshun gatshee
pakun gatshee dyan kyaavu' raath
yoorai aayi ta tuury gatshun gatshee
kenh na-ta kenh, na-ta kenh, na-ta kyah

Vaakh No. 20

(Bhaaskar-20/Grierson-20/Kaul-40)

muudd zaa'nith pa'shith ti on[129]
kol, shrutu'von zaddu' ruup aas
yus yi dapii tas tii bool
yohai tatvu' vidis chhu abhyaas

muudd - foolish; *pashith* - seeing;*on* - blind *kol* - dumb; *shrutu'von* - hearing, not deaf; *zadd* - *jadd,* gross *tat-va vid* - one who knows the elements; *abyaas* - practice

[Act a fool though knowing, blind though seeing;
Though hearing be a dumb, dull being;
Nod to each for what he/she may say;
This is the practice for the Truth-knowing.]

Bhaaskar text:

Muuddvaa ddisheeth pashyeet laag on
ooj too kaloo shrutavanoo zadd ruupii aas
yoosaa yeethaa dapi tas teethoo bhool
sooy chhooy tatvu vidas abhyaas

Grierson text:

muudd zaa'nith pa'shith ta kooru'
kolu' shrutu'voon zadda-ruu'py aas
yusu' yih dapii tas tii bool
yuhuy tat-tva-vidis chhuh abhyaas

129 Kaul (page 106) writes *'kor'* following Grierson, but notes that Manuscript No. 961, Research Deptt., has *'on'* in place of *'kor'* derived from the Persian *'koor'* for blind.

Vaakh No.21

(Bhaaskar-21/Grierson-21/Kaul-38)

gaal ga'nddynyam bool pa'ddynyam
da'pynyam tii yas yi rotsee
sahaz kusmav puuz ka'rynyam
boo amalaa'ny tu' kas kyah motsee[130]

gaal ganddun – to attribute unworthy things; *bool paaddun* – to call names ;*dapun* – to say, allege; *rotsee* – think, deem; *amalaa'ny* – untainted, pure

[They may revile me, call me names,
Allege what each one of'em doth deem;
Else, they may worship me with flowers fine:
Taintless, nothing will dull my gleam.]

Bhaaskar text:

gaal gaddynyam bhool paddynyam
da'pynyam tee yas yee ruchi
sahaz kusumav puuz ka'rynyam
bu ami laa'ny kas kyah mvatsee

Grierson text:

gaal ga'nddynyam bool pa'rinyam
da'pinyam[131] tii yas yih rootsee
sahaza-kusumav puuz ka'rinyam
boh amalaa'ny ta kas kyah mootsee

130 *rotsee (ruutsee); motsee (muutsee)* ...Kaul
131 *pa'rinyam; da'pinyam; ka'rinyam*: cf. note to vaakh 1 *supra*.

Vaakh No. 22

(Bhaaskar-22/Grierson-22/Kaul-118)

dyan tshezi tu' razan aasee
bhuutal gagnas kun vyakasee
tsa'ndarii rah groos maavasee
Shiv puuzun gah tsyath aatmasee

dyan - day; *tshezi* - end; *razan -rajnii,* night; *maavas - amaavasya* the last day of the lunar month when moon is the slimmest; *gah* - light, illumination

[The day'll set and night'll come
Earth, the sky, would encompass;
Raahuu* engrossed the moon on *maavas
Worship Shiva, brighten thy being and brass.]

Bhaaskar text:

dyan chizi taa rajan aasi
bhuutal gagnas kunoo vikasi
chandarii rah groosun maavasi
Shiv puuzan gvah tsit-t aatmasi

Grierson text:

dyan tshezi ta razan aasee
bhuu-tal gaganas-kun vikaasee
tsa'nda'ry Rah groos maavasee
Shiva-puuzan gvah tsyit-ta aatmasee

Vaakh No.23

(Bhaaskar-23/Grierson-23/Kaul-41)

manu'su'y maan bhavu'saras
chhur kuup nyeeryas naaru' chhuk
lyaki lyakh yod tulu' kooti
tuli tul tai tuul naa keenh

maan - pride; *bhavu'sar* - world; *chhur* - imbalanced; *kuup* - anger; *naaru' chhuk* - a fiery flame; *tulu–toolav,* shall weigh; *kooti* - a crore; *tuul* - weight

[Mind is laden with worldly pride
A touch and abuses it blazons wide,
Of which even a crore if weighed
Wouldn't amount to a penny worth.]

Bhaaskar text:

manas man bhav saras
chhur koop niritaa naara chhak
lika lizya bu naa kunee
tuli tul tai tuul naa keenh

Grierson text:

manu'su'y maan bhava-saras
chhyuuru' kuupa neeryas naaru'chu' chhwk
lyakaa lyakh yod tulaa-kootti
tuli tulu' ta tuul naa keenh

Vaakh No.24

(Bhaaskar-24/Grierson-24/Kaul-64)

shiil tu' maan chhuy poony kranjee
mwchhi yemy rott ma'ly yud vaav
hos yus mast vaalu' ganddee
tii yas tagi suy adu' nihaal

shiil - honour, prestige; *kranjee – kra'njul*, a cullender; *mwchhi* - moth, handful; *Mas vaal* – a hair; *tagun* – ability

[Pride-n-prestige is but water in a wicker basket;
He, who catches the hard wind in a handful,
He who can bind an elephant by a hair;
He who can do all this, shall have the bliss.]

Bhaaskar text:

shiil ta maan chhuy poony kranji
muchhi yamy rattoo mal yud-dh vaav
hastoo yanyoo mastoo vaalu' ganddi
tee yas tagi suy andu' nihaal

Grierson text:

shiil ta maan chhuy poony kranjy
mwchhe yamy rott ma'lly yudu' vaav
hostu' yusu' mast-vaala ganddee
tih yas tagi taa'y suy ada nyahaal

Vaakh No.25

(Bhaaskar-25/Grierson-25/Kaul-93)

she van tsa'ttith shashikal vuzu'm
prakrath hoonzu'm pavu'nu' suu'ty
loolu'ki naaru' vaa'linj buzu'm
Shankar lobum ta'mii suu'ty

she – six *van* – forest, wilderness*Shashi* – moon *vuzun* – to arise, manifest Grierson (LV-G page 47) takes *"she van"*– six wildes – to mean the six *chakras* or *manddals,* traversing which the *Sahasraar* (thousand petalled Brahma at the top of skull) is reached. There the 'moon' is said to be accessed, which *yoogiis* are said to experience as a sweet dripping at the back of mouth. Bhaaskar takes them to imply (*kaamaadi*... BRD, page11) six hurdles *kaam, kruud, luub, mad, moh* and *ahankaar*

[Piercing six wildes, the moon I roused
With breath, my being, I scrubbed clean
My heart I roasted in the fiery ardour
Striving thus did I find Shankara!]

Bhaaskar text:

sha van tsatteeth shashikal vuzu'm
prakrat hoonzu'm pavan suu'ty
loolu'ki naaru' vaa'linj buzu'm
Shankar lobum ta'mii suu'ty

Grierson text:

shya van tsa'ttith shyashi-kal vuzu'm
prakryath hu'nzu'm pavana suu'tii
loolaki naara vaa'linju' buzu'm
Shankar lobum ta'mii suu'tii

Vaakh No. 26

(Bhaaskar-26/Grierson-26/Kaul-52)

tsyatu' twrug gagnu' bramu' voon
nimiishi aki tshanddi yooznu' lachh
tsiitanu' vagi yamy[132] ra'ttith zoon
praan apaan fuuttu'rith[133] pakhu'ch

tsyath – limited conscience; *twrug* – horse; *bramun* – to roam; *nimiish* – twitter of the eye; *tshanddun* – to cover; *yoozun* – *yoojan*, 3 miles; *tsiitan* – conscious thought; *vag* – rein; *praan apaan* – *praanaayaam*, breath control, ingoing and outgoing breath; *pakhu'ch* – *pakhu'*, wings

[The mind, a horse, keeps roaming the skies
Flits, in a moment, through a million miles[134]
With the conscious thought I reined it in;
Controlled the breath, broke its wings from within.]

Bhaaskar text:

chitaa turag gagnai bramu' vaanoo
nimeėshi aki kaddi yoojan lachh
cheetanu' vagi yamee ra'ttit zaanoo
praan apaan foottareet pakhu'ch

Grierson text:

tsit-ta turog gagany brama-voon
nimyashe aki tshanddi yoozana lachh
tseetani-vagi bwdi rattith zoon
praan apaan sandaa'rith pakhu'ch

132 Kaul, following Grierson, writes (*bwd*) wisdom for the clear *yamy* he who (controlled it) of Bhaaskar.
133 Bhaaskar's "*fuuttrith pakhu'ch*" (having broken its wings) is different in connotation from Grierson's *sandaa'rith* (having refurbished) which Kaul writes here.
134 The actual text says, 'one lakh *yoojans*' (3 lakh miles).

Vaakh No. 27

(Bhaaskar-27/Grierson-27/Kaul-30)

khyath ga'nddith shemi naa maanas
braanth yimoo traa'v timai gai kha'sith
shaastu'r buuzith chhu yamu' bai kruur
su naa poz tu' da'nii la'sith

khyath – having eaten; *ga'nddith* – having clothed oneself; *shamun* – to wane, be sated; *braanth* – wont; *bai* – *bhai,* fear; *kruur* – terrible *da'nii* – worldly, contented

[Food and clothes, thy mind, won't sate;
They, who forsook want, soared away!
Listening to scriptures, affrights you more –
It ain't so (fearsome), be thou gay.]

Bhaaskar text:

Khitaa gaddataa ni shimana haroo
Braant yeemoo treevoo teem gay khaseet
shaastar buuzith yam bhang kraar
suh naa patsoo taa dhanyaa laseet

Grierson text:

khyath ganddith shyami naa maanas[135]
braanth yimav traa'vu' timai gay kha'su'tu'
shaastra buuzith chhuh yama-baye kruuru'
soh naa potsu' ta da'nii la'su'tu'

135 Variant: *khyana ganddana nishe man traa'vith duur* (LV-G, page 48).

Vaakh No. 28

(Bhaaskar-28/Grierson-28/Kaul-33)

yavu' tuu'r tsali tim ambar hyataa
bwchhi yavu' tsali tii aahaar an
tsitaa swparu' vyatsaaras pyataa
tsitaa deehas vaan kyah van

ambar - clothes; *aahaar* - eat, eatables; *an* - food *tsitaa* - mind; ***para*** - lofty, supreme

[Wear only to keep out the chill
Eat but, thy hunger alone to still
Turn thy mind to lofty thought
Make the body do, what it ought.]

Bhaaskar text:

yavu' tuu'r tsali tim ambar hyataa
bwchhi yavu' tsali tii aahaar an
tsitaa swparu' vyatsaaras pyataa
tsitaa deehas vaan kyah van

Grierson text:

yava tuu'r tsali tim ambar hyataa
kshywd yava gali tii aahaar an
tsit-taa! sva-para-vyatsaaras pyataa
tshu'n tan yi deeh van-kaavan

Vaakh No. 29

(Bhaaskar-29/Grierson-29/Kaul-76)

sahazas[136] sham tu' dam noo gatshee
yatshi praavakh muktii dvaar
sa'lilas lavan zan miilith ti gatshee
tooti chhuy dwrlab sahazu' vyatsaar

sahaz - easy, simple, true; *sham tu' dam* - austerity, ritual penance; *yatsh* - *ichhaa*, will; *sa'lil* - liquid

[The truth does need ritual penance;
***Ichhaa,* the will can lead you thence:**
Being one, like salt dissolved in water,
Is a simple thought, though hard to ponder.]

Bhaaskar text:

sahazas sham ta dam naa gatshi
yatshi praavakh muktii dvaar
salilas lavan zan mileeth gatshi
tuti chhuy durlabh sahaz' vichaar

Grierson text:

sahazas shyam ta dam noo gatshi
yitshi noo praavakh mwkti-dvaar
salilas lavan-zan miilith ti gatshi
too-ti chhuy durlab sahaza-vyatsaar

136 The *vaakh* as it is, carrries patent contradictions: the first line contradicts the last line, one saying that ***sahaz*** needs not hard penance and the other saying that it is hard. The 3RD line does not gel with the 4TH line: salt is easily dissoveled in water and cannot be an apt metaphor. The version ***"yatshi noo praavakh muktii dvaar"*** of the 2ND line, as given by Grierson, which Kaul follows, is a double contradiction: as per 1ST line *sahaz* should be easy to attain, as per 2ND it is not attained by mere wishing, implying the need for a hard path. The vaakh as it is also contradicts the cardinal tenet of Kashmir Shavism which lists *ichhaa* (- *yatsh*) 'will' as the primary means of *mukti*. Kheemraaj (*Pratibigyahrudayam, commentary shlooka 1)* says that simplicity and ease of practice is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Kashmir Shavism. Baaskar does not have 'noo' in second line, saying that '*Will alone shall bring liberation*'. The vaakh falls in line only with the reading given above, saying that hard penance is pointless. It may also be noted that many vaakhs, proclaiming the need for hard penance, austerity and eschewing easy ways, contradict the tenets Lal is known for and also those of Kashmir Shaivism.

Vaakh No. 30

(Bhaaskar-30/Grierson-30/Kaul-90)

luub maarun sahaz vyatsaarun
drog zaanun kalpan traav
nishi chhuy tu' duur moo gaarun
shuunyas shuunyah miilith gwv

Kalpan vikalp, the web of thoughts and ideations is said to be the primary cause of bondage; *kalpan*, the thoughts besieging the being, when thought is banished it leads to equanimity, the erosion of deluding duality and realization. *gaarun* – behold, ken *shuunya* – nothingness in Kashmir Shaivism is not a void but Truth where no alternative thought (vilkalp) of differentiation remains.

[Decimate avarice, the equanimity ken;
Banish the thought that the path is hard:
He is near you, deem Him not far;
Truth meeting The Truth, at par.]

Bhaaskar text:

loobh maarun sahaz vichaarun
drog zaanoon kalpan traav
neeshi chhooy ta door moo gvaarun
shuunyas shuunyaa mileet gav

Grierson text:

luub maarun sahaz vyatsaarun
drog zaanun kalpan traav
nishe chhuy ta duuru' moo gaarun
shuu'nyas shuu'nyah miilith gav

Vaakh No. 31

(Bhaaskar-31/Grierson-31/Kaul-100)

mukris zan mal tsolum manas
adu' me la'bu'm zanas zaan
su yeli ddyuutthum nishi paanas
sooruy su tu' bw noo keenh

Mukur – mirror; *mal* – dirt; *zan* – person, *Param* Shiva; *zaan* – cognition

[Like dust from mirror, my mind cleared,
And, I gained cognition of the Being;
When Him I saw in my vicinity
All there was Him and nothing of me.]

Bhaaskar text:

makuras zan mal chaloom manas
ada mi la'bu'm zanas zaan
su yeli ddyuutthum neeshi paanas
saarooy sooy ta buvan keenh

Grierson text:

Makuras zan mal tsolüm manas
ada me lu'bu'm zanas zaan
suh yali ddyuutthum nishe paanas
sooruy suy ta bwh noo keenh

Vaakh No. 32

(Bhaaskar-32/Grierson-32/Kaul-112)

keenh chhii nendri hatii vudii
keentsan vudyan nyasar peyii
keenh chhii snaan ka'rith aputii
keenh chhii geeha ba'zith ti akrayii

Vudii - *vid*, seeing, knowing; *nyasar* - sleep; *aputii* - unclean; *geeha bazun* - living in a house-hold; *akriyii* - one to whom no blame for action accrues

[Some are aware even asleep
Some slumber even when awake
Some remain unclean even after bathing
Some remain act-less even in domesticity].

Bhaaskar text:

kinh ti chhyii nindri hatoo veedee
kinchan voodin nisar piyi
kinh ti chhoo snaan karoot aapootee
kinh griha bajeen karaan kriyaa

Grierson text:

keenh chhii nendri-hatii vudii
keentsan vudyan nyasar peye
keenh chhii snaan ka'rith apuutii
keenh chhii geeh bazith ti akrii

Vaakh No. 33

(Bhaaskar-33/Grierson-33/Kaul-72)

dvaad shaantu' manddal yas divas thaji
naasika pavani daa'ry anaahata rav
swyam kalpan anti tsaji
paanai su diiv tu' artsun kas

Dvaada shaant - As per *'Kunddalnii yoog'* there are six spots in human body called *'manddal' or 'chakara'*. One of these is at the level of heart. This 'manddal' or 'chakara' is in the middle and not to the left where heart lies. The space is *hridai*, distinct from heart the organ. This *yoog* in activated with breath control. It is called *'anaahat manddal'*. *Praana* resides here. It is said that the outgoing *praana* goes out twelve fingers and then enters through nose. This is called *'hridai' dvaadushaant'*. Another *'dvaadshaant'* is located at the top of head or skull in Sahasraar chakra which is the place of Shiva. It is called *'Shiva dvaadahaant'* or *'Brahmarandar'*. Grierson says that *Shiva dvaadshaant* is meant here. Parimo, however, says that the reference is to *'anaahat manddal'* which lies in *'hridai'*. The exhaled and inhaled breath reaches the *anaahat*; breath control applies to this.

[One who resides in the plane high,
Breathes in Om, the true one;
Has itself banished all thoughts nigh
He is the deity Itself; may worship none!]

Bhaaskar text:

dvaad shaant manddal yas deevas thajyee
naasik pavan anaahat rav
sa yas kalpan antih chajyee
svyam deev ta archun kas

Grierson text:

Dvaadashaanta-manddal yas deevas thajii
Naasika-pavana-daa'ry anaahata-rav
svayam kalpan antihi tsajii
paanai suh deev ta artsun kas

Vaakh No. 34

(Bhaaskar-34/Grierson-34/Kaul-73)

akuy Omkaar yus naabi daree
kumbee[137] brahmaanddas sum garee
akh suy manthu'r tsyatas karee
tas saas manthu'r kyah karee

[He who focuses on Om alone,
Joins his being to the Brahmaandd;
He concentrates on that single word;
No need he has for a thousand ***mantras***[138]]

Bhaaskar text:

akuy Omkaar yoos naabhi dhari
kambuy brahmaanddas sooma gari
akuy mantra chitas kari
tas saas mantra kyahu kari

Grierson text:

okuy oom-kaar yas naabi daree
kumbuy brahmaanddas sum garee[139]
akh suy manthu'r tsyatas karee
tas saas manthu'r kyah karee

137 *'kumbee'* Bhaaskar. *'kumbh'* or *'ghatt'*, *'ghattas'* i.e. your own body. The meaning is to join ones ***chit-t*** and ***Brahmaandd*** not through *'kumbak'*, which is a part of breath control. (Kaul).

138 This is a direct exposition of Shiv Sutra (2: 2) – "*mantraachitam*". See note on this *vaakh* (LV-G, page 55).

139 Variant : *sooma-garee* (LV-G, page-54)

Vaakh No. 35

(Bhaaskar-35/Grierson-35/Kaul-105)

samsaaras aayas tapsii
bwdi prakaash lobum sahaz
maryam na kunh tu' maru' nu' kaa'nsi
maru' neechh, tu' lasu' neechh

Bwd – cognition*Prakaasha* – Effulgence, the Ultimate Truth

[A striver, I came into this world
Light of coginition, I got with equanimity[140];
None will grieve me; none shall I grieve
Life and death to me appear the same]

Bhaaskar text:

samsaaras aayaas tapasee
booda prakaash laboom sahaz
marim na koonh ta mara na kainsi
mara nichh, ta lasa nichh

Grierson text:

samsaaras aayas tapsii
boodha-prakaash lobum sahaz
maryam na kunh ta mara na kainsi
mara neechh ta lasa neechh

---

140 An alternate interpretation taking *Prakaasha* in the *Prakaasha-vimarsha* paradigm of Kashmir Shaivism would be: with cognition, I attained *Prakaasha* with ease.

Vaakh No. 36

(Bhaaskar-36/Grierson-36/Kaul-104)

prathai tiirthan gatshaan sa'nyaa'sy
go-raan sw darshanu' myuul
tsitaa pa'rith moo nishpath aas
ddeeshakh duuree draman nyuul

Prathai - regularly*nishpath* - one who has lost the way

[Regularly the *Sanyaasiis* go to tiiraths
Seeking union by a vision (of Him there);
Stray not, having studied the truth,
Only from afar, does the grass look green].

Bhaaskar text:

prathuy tiirthan gatshan sanyaasii
gvaarani su darshana meeloo
chit marith soo nishpat aaseet
ddishak duuriy dramun niiloo

Grierson text:

prathuy tiirthan gatshaan sannyaas
gvaarani sva-darshyana-myuul
tsit-taa! parith mav nishpath aas
ddeeshakh duuree dramun nyuul

Vaakh No.37

(Bhaaskar-37/Grierson-37/Kaul-51)

pavan puurith yus ani vagi
tas bw naa sparsh na bwchhi tu' treesh
ti yas karun anti' tagi
samsaaras suy zeyi neechhi

Pavan puurith - having inhaled,Inhaling through the left nostril during *'praanaayaam'* is *"puurak"*, holding it in is *"kumbak"* and exhaling it through the right nostril is *"riichak"*. *vagi anun* - to hold on a leash; *sparsh* - touch*anti/antihi* - at the end

[He who controls the breath on the way in,
He hath no need of touch, food and water;
He who carries this practice to the end
His is a worthy life in the worldy bend.]

Bhaaskar text:

pavan puureet yoos ani vagi
ta saa bhuu na sparshi na buchhya ta treesh
tee yas karun antih tagi
soo samsaaras jiyan nichhi

Grierson text:

pavan puurith yusu' ani vagi
tas bwna sparshi na bwchha ta treesh
tih yas karun antihi tagi
samsaaras suy zeyi neechh

Vaakh No. 38

(Bhaaskar-38/Grierson-38/Kaul-113)

zal thamun[141] hutu'vah tu'ru' naavun
urdvaa gamun pariv tsa'rith
kaatthu deeni dwd shramaavun
anti sakol kapattu tsarith

Zal, jal - water; *thamun* - to stop; *hutu'vah* - hot *urdvaa* - *uurdvaa,* upwards, to the sky; *gaman* - going; *tsa'rith* - *tshal,* trick *kaatth* - wooden; *deen* - *dheenu,* cow; *anti* - in the end; *sakol* - all; *kapatt* - false hood

[Holding waters, chilling blazing fires;
Rising to roam the lofty firmament;
Making a wooden cow yield milk:
All illusions in the end, no attainment.]

Bhaaskar text:

zal thamun hutavah taraa naavun
uurdva gaman pariv arjeet darit
kaattha dheeni dud su chaavoon[142]
antih sakaloo kapatta charit

Grierson text:

zal thamavun hutavah tu'ranaavun
vurdva-gaman pairiv tsarith
kaattha-dheeni dwd shramaavun
antihi sakolu' kapatta-tsarith

141 Kaul, following Grierson, writes *thamu'vun,* though there is no reason to reject the text of Bhaaskaraachaarya.
142 The BRD text writes *'shramamvun'* (page 17)

Vaakh No. 39

(Bhaaskar-39/Grierson-39/Kaul-68)

kus push tu' kwsu' pushaa'nii[143]
kam kusum laa'gy zyas puuzee
kavu rasu' dizyas gaddu' zalu' daa'nii[144]
kavu' sanu' mantar Shankar swaatmu'vuzee

Push - the gardener growing flowers, *pushaa'ny* - the lady, gardener's wife, who wends flowers *kusum* - a flower *gaddu'* - *gaddukam,* the water pot, the rounded brass pot with turned rim called *ga'ddvu'* in Kashmiri. Bhaaskar text uses *gaddu'* in the sense of pot: "which *ras* would you use in the water-offering pot." Grierson's reading kens it *gwdd dyun* instead of Bhaaskar's *ras dyun*. Kaul, following Grierson, duplicates this usage carrying the sense of *gwdd barun* - watering etc. as of plants. The usage is deviatory in face of Bhaaskar's clear text

[Who is the gardener, who the flower-girl?
Which flowers should you worship with?
Which water would you sprinkle there?
By which *mantra* would Shankar emerge?]

Bhaaskar text:

koosoo pooshoo ta kusa pooshaanii
kam kusum laageezis puuzi
kava rasa deezisaa gaddee jal daanii
kava mantra Shankaroo voozi

143 This and other similarly question-carrying *vaakhs* are intriguing. Did Lal carry a question-answer session with herself? What would've been the point? Was she teaching pupils for whose comprehension she first posed questions and then answered them? Did anyone else ask the questions? Or, were the questions composed later, to precede the 'answers'? The last would explain the word *rasu'* in the line 3, as well as the close approximation of the question answer vaakhs. In any case the 'answering vaakh is complete in itself and needs no 'questioning vaakh'.

144 Kaul has followed Grierson's version of this line.

Grierson text:

Kusu' pushu' ta kwsa pushaa'nii
kam kusum laa'gyzyas puuzee
kavu goddu' dizyas zalachi daa'nii
kava-sana mantra Shenkar-svaatma-vuzee

Vaakh No. 40

(Bhaaskar-40/Grierson-40/Kaul-69)

man push tai yatsh pushaa'nii
baavu'ky kusum laa'gyzyas puuzee
shishirasu' gwdd dizyas zalu'chi daa'nii
tshwpi mantar Shankar sw aatmu' vuzee

Baav – inclination, devotion; *shishiras* – (*shashi,* moon) the *nectar* flowing after the arousal of *shashikal,* the digit of moon in *sahasraar chakra* through *yoogik* concentration*tshwpi mantru'* – the mantra of silence, the soundless breath control of a *sid-dha* or *yoogii*

[Mind is the garden, will the flower-girl;
With flowers of devotion, thy worship perform;
Sprinkle the nectar, from the digit of moon:
***Mantra* of silence will make Shankar emerge.]**

Bhaaskar text:

man poosh ta ichh pooshaanii
bhaava koo[145] kusum laagizis puuzi
mana sara gaddoo deezis zal daanii
tshopi mantra Shankaroo voozi

145 *'bhaava koo kusum'*: the *'ku'* of *'kusum'* in the script of BTB folio 7 could as well be a mistake in writing, later crossed out, leaving *'bhaava koosum'* which gives the same meaning.

Grierson text:

man pushu' taa'y yitsh pushaa'nii
baavu'ky kusum laa'gyzyas puuzee
sheshirasa godd diżyas zalachi daa'nii
tshwpi-mantra Shenkar-svaatma vuzee

Vaakh No. 41

(Bhaaskar-41/Grierson-41/Kaul-8)

aayas kami dishi tu' kami vatee
gatshu' kami dishi kavu' zaanu' vath
anti daay la'gimai tatee
chhenis fwkas kaantsh ti noo sath

daay – true knowledge; *dishi* – direction; *sath* – assurance

[Whence and from which way I came,
Which way I should go, do not know:
Truth alone will aid, at the end;
Hollow breath, no hope doth bestow.]

Bhaaskar text:

aayas kami dishi tu' kami vatee
gachhanoo gachhis kava dishi kava jaana vat
antih day lageem ta vati
chhanis fukas kus sath

Grierson text:

aayas kami dishi ta kami vatee
gatsha kami dishi kava zaana vath
antihi daay lagimai tatee
chhenis fwkas kaantsh-ti noo sath

Vaakh No.42

(Bhaaskar-42/Grierson-42/Kaul-70)

gagan tsu'y, bhuutal tsu'y
tsu'y dyan, pavan tu raath
arg, tsandan, poosh poony tsu'y
tsu'y chhuk sooru'y tu' laa'gyzii kyaa

gagan - sky, *bhuutal* - the earth, pavan - air, but here ether, *arg* - the combination of grain and flower petals used in worship, *tsandun* - the chandan wood, *poosh* - flowers, *poony* - water

[Thou art the sky, the earth underneath,
Thou art the day, the night, and ether,
Thou art the grain, petal and *chandan*:
Thou art all, what else is there to offer.]

Bhaaskar text:

gagan tsu'y, bhuutal tsu'y
tsu'y din, pavan ta raat
arg, chandan, push paanyee tsu'y
tsu'y sakaloo sooruy ta laageezi kyah

Grierson text:

gagan tsu'y, bhuu-tal tsu'y
tsu'y chhukh dyan, pavan ta raath
arg tsandan poosh paa'ny tsu'y
tsu'y chhuk sooru'y tu' laa'gyzii kyah

Vaakh No.43

(Bhaaskar-43/Grierson-43/Kaul-36)

yamy luub, manmath, mooroo[146]
timay maa'rith loogun daas
ya'my sahaz iishvar gooroo
ta'mii sooruy vyondun svaas

Luub – greed; *manmath* – lust;*mad* – pride, ego; *daas* – servant; ***vond-un*** – gave up; *saas* – ashes; *svaas* – the one residing inside. With this the line would be: he forsook all for the one within and turned within. However, BRD too makes ***svaas*** mean *basm* – ashes – in translation (text, page 20).

[He who lust, greed, ego did still,
Curbed them all, learned to serve:
He who beheld the Lord tranquil,
He forsook all, inward did sverve.]

Bhaaskar text:

yamee loobh, manmath, maaroo
tamee marith laagoo dam
yamee sahaz iishvar gvooroo
tamoo saaroo vindoo svaas

Grierson text:

yemy luub, manmath mad tsuur moorun
vata-naa'shy maa'rith ta loogun daas
ta'mii sahaz Yiishvar goorun
ta'mii sooruy vyondun svaas

146 Kaul follows the text given by Grierson. BTB text is simple and direct. Being an earlier record, there is no reason here to add the interpolations, which Grierson got recorded two centuries later. Bhaaskar's text uses *yamy/ta'mii* in alternate lines; *ta'mii* in the latter lines, as given by Grierson impinges on the import and makes them conclusions for the preceding lines.

Vaakh No.44

(Bhaaskar-44/Grierson-44/Kaul-137)

paanas laa'gith ruudukh[147] me tsu'y
me tse tshaanddaan luusum doh
paanas manz yeli ddyuutthukh me tsu'y
me tse tu' paanas ditum tshoh

Ruudukh - remained hidden; *ditum tshoh* - was happy

[You turned inward and I lost Thy trail
The whole day I spent, looking for Thee
When Thee I found right within me
Myself to to Thee I clasped in glee.]

Bhaaskar text:

paanas laageeth ruudook mi chuu
mi chi chhaddaan lustoo duh
gyaanas manz yili dditthoo mi chuu
mi chi ta paanas deetoo tshoh

Grierson text:

paanas laa'gith ruudukh me tsu'h
me tse tshaanddaan luustum dwh
paanas-manz yali ddyuukhukh me tsu'h
me tse ta paanas dyutum tshwh

147 Kaul substitutes *roavukh* (got lost) for *ruudukh* (remained hidden), but in face of clear textual *ruudukh* (of Bhaaskar and Grierson), the change becomes an interpolation.

Vaakh No.45

(Bhaaskar- 45Grierson-45/Kaul-67)

Kush, poosh, teel, diif, zal naa gatshee
sad bhaavu' gwru' kath yus manu' heyee
Shambhuuhas swri nity panani ya tshee
sai da'py zee sahaza kraiyee

[He needs not grass, flowers, sesame, lamp and water
He who takes to heart the word of guru,
Meditates on *Shambuu*, on his own, ever;
His alone is the worship true.]

Bhaaskar text:

Kush, push, til, diip, dhuum naa gachhii
yoos sadbhaava guru kath mani hiyi
Shankaroo suri pannyi ichhi
saa dapeeji sahazaa kriya

Grierson text:

Kush, poosh, teel, diif, zal naa gatshee
sadbhaava gwra-kath yusu' manu' heyee
Shambhus swri nitye panane yitshee
Saada pyazee sahaza akrii naa zeyee

Vaakh No. 46

(Bhaaskar-46/Grierson-46/Kaul-84)

asi, pwndi, zwsi, zaami
nyathu'y snaan kari tiirthan
vu'hu'ry vahras nonuy aasee
nishi chhuy tu' parzaantan

[It'll laugh and sneeze, cough and yawn;
Bathing at sacred spots all;
The year-round, It is in evidence see;
It's near thee, know It to be.

Bhaaskar text:

asi, pundi, zaami, zusi[148]
nithuy snaan kari tiirthan
vaheer vahras nanoo aasi
neeshi chhooy ta par jaantan

Grierson text:

asi, pwndi, zwsi, zaami
nyathaa'y snaan kari tiirthan
va'hu'ry vaharas nonuy aasi
nishe chhuy ta parzaantan

Vaakh No. 47

(Bhaaskar-47/Grierson-47/Kaul-114)

yath sari sarshaf fol naa vetsii[149]
tath sari saku'lii poony chan[150]
maru'g, sru'gaal, ga'nddy zalu' ha'stii
zyan naa zyan tu' totuy pyan

Sar - lake; *sarshaf fol* - a mustard grain; *saku'ly* - all the embodied beings, all living beings; *zyan naa zyan* - they'll not be born (than fall into it).

148 BRD text, has '...... *Zvasee, zaamee*' (page 21)
149 Kaul follows Grierson text
150 Grierson's interpretation is that though appearing vast, it is no bigger then a *sarshaf* grain: 'The lake that is is no bigger than a grain'

[The lake that won't take a mustard more
From it, the true ones shall drink
Deer, jackal, beasts, the elephants all
Shall fall into it, soon as they're born]

Bhaaskar text:

yat sari sarshap faloo naa ichi
tat sari sakalee paanyee chyan
mrig, srigaal, geendd jaal hastee
jin naa jin ta tatoo pin

Grierson text:

yath saras saryfol naa vyatsii
tath sari sakalii poony chyan
mrag, srugaal, ga'nddy zala-ha'stii
zyan naa zyan ta totuy pyan

Vaakh No. 48

(Bhaaskar-48/Grierson-48/Kaul-74)

Lal boo luusu's tshaaran tu' gaaraan
hal me kormas rasu' nishi ti
vuchhun hyotmas taa'ddy ddiitthymas baran
me ti kal ganeeyi, zoogmas ta'ty

[I, Lal, wearied myself searching around
And, strove beyond my prowess sheer:
I began to see, and saw the doors bolted
My urge was awakened and I waited there.]

Bhaaskar text:

Lal-la bu luusu's tshaaddaan tu' gvaaraan
hal mi karoomasoo rasanyee shatee
oochhyun hitoomas ta taaddyee dditthmas bharan
mi ti kal ganiyi, zi zaagas atee

Grierson text:

Lal bwh luutshu's tshaaddan ta gvaaran
hal me koru'mas rasa-nishe ti
vuchhun hyotu'mas taa'ddy ddiitthymas baran
me-ti kal ganeeye zi zoogmas ta'ty

Vaakh No. 49

(Bhaaskar-49/Grierson-49/Kaul-86)

mal vwndi zoolum[151]
jigar moorum
teli Lal naav draam
yeli da'ly traa'vy mas ta'ty

[The moss on my being I did burn,
My verve I slew on the spot:
The name Lal, I did earn when
I settled to strive and budged not.]

Bhaaskar text:

mal mi anti chaloom[152]
jyeegaraa paadaa[153]
tilee Lal-la naav draav
mi yilee daloo traavoomas tatoo

151 Kaul writes 'goolum' - wore out - here (page 162)
152 BRD text has '*zoolum*' - burnt out - for *chaloom* (*tsolum*) - vanished - of BTB
153 The part, in the BTB script folio 8, is illegible. The Mukti-bodh text in Dev Nagri gives "*jigar moorum*" as above.

Grierson text:

mal vwndi zoolum
zigar moorum
tyali Lal naav draam
yali da'ly traa'vy mas ta'ty

Vaakh No.50

(Bhaaskar-50/Grierson-50/Kaul-115)

treyi nengi sarah sa'ry saras
aki nengi saras arshas[154] jaay
Harmwkh Koonsaru' akh sum saras[155]
satu' nengi saras shuunyaakaar

Nengi - times; *treyi* - thrice; *sati* - seven-times; *akh* - one; *arsh* - Persian, sky; *sum* is a thick rope or link serving as a bridge. Folk lore says that the Paandav's laid a huge rock across the valley connecting Koonsarnaag to Harmwkh.

[Thrice I saw the lake filled to full;
Once, the lake to sky did ride;
One link from Harmwkh to Koonsar lay (over the lake);
Seven times the lake turned void.][156]

Bhaaskar text:

triyi ningi saraa saree saras
aki ningi saras na arshas jaay
Harmukh koonsar ak soom saras
sati ningi saras shuunyaakaar

---

154 Bhaaskar text too carries this Persian word for sky. Given the non-existence of Persian tongue and speakers in Kashmir upto the end of rule of 4TH Shahmiiri king Shahaabudiin, during whose time Lal lived, the word *'arsha'* - the sky above' - is unlikely to have entered the folk vocabulary. Persian was introduced in Kashmir, a century later, by Zainul-Aabdiin. Hence, the meaning of the line would remain uncertain.

155 Kaul writes *'koosar'*, while it is koonsar/kavnsaar in all texts, including BRD. The lake above Aharabal Fall is called Koonsar Naag locally, too.

156 The *vaakh* is highly esoteric; it is not clear whether it is referring to personal viscitudes, spiritual straits or the stages of ascent and descent of *Kunddalini*.

Grierson text:

trayi nengi sarah sa'ry saras
aki nengi saras arshes jaay
Haramwkh kavnsara akh sum saras
sati nengi saras shuu'nyaakaar

Vaakh No. 51

(Bhaaskar-51/Grierson-51/Kaul-77)

zanani zaayaay ra'ty taa'y ka'tii
ka'rith vwdras bahuu kleesh
fiirith dvaar bazni vaa'ty ta'tii
shiv chhuy kruutth tu' tseen vwpdeesh

Zanani – *janani*, she who gives birth; the Kashmiri word *zanaanu'* for woman, comes from this ; *Vwdar* – womb*baznun* – to wait; *kruutth* – difficult, hard to attain. The use in BTB of the *tatsam 'kashtt'*, is interesting from the linguistic point of view. Similarly this text uses *'ak'* not *'akh'* for one in line 3, which BRD (page 23) may've changed to *akh* in consonance to the current usage.

[Of mother they're born, hale and healthy
Leaving the womb, many hardships to rue;
Passing many gates, they returned to wait[157] there:
Shiva's is a hard path, take the cue!]

Bhaaskar text:

zanna zaayaay ratee taa kyatee
karoot udaras bahuun kleeshaa
fireet daar bhazni vaatee ta'tii
Shiva chhoo kashttee chin upadeesh

157 The reference is to the unending cycle of births.

Grierson text:

zanane zaayaay ra'ty taa'y ka'tii
karith vwdaras bahu kleesh
fiirith dvaar bazani vaa'ty ta'tii
Shiv chhuy kruutth ta tseen vwpadeesh

Vaakh No. 52

(Bhaaskar-52/Grierson-52/Kaul-78)

Swy sheel pattas tu' piitthas[158]
Swy sheel chhai utmoo deesh[159]
Swy sheel feeru'vu'nis[160] grattas
Shiva chhuy kruutth tu' tseen vwpdeesh

Sheel – *shilaa*, a huge rock (BTB has *shila* while BRD writes *shilaa*),
patt – stone-paved path *feeru'vu'nis* – moving, revolving

[The stone that forms the pedestal and the path
The same stone bears the land well-wrought,
The same stone graces the moving mill too:
Shiva's is a hard path, take the cue.]

Bhaaskar text:

saya shil pattas taa piitthas
saya shil ut-tamoo deesh
saya shil shoobhavanees grattas
Shiva chhoo kashttee chin upadeesh

---

158 Kaul, following Grierson, writes *Yasai* (that which) in place of *Swy* of Bhaaskar and *'piitthas tu'. pattas'* instead of *'pattas tu piitthas'* found in both texts of Bhaaskaraachaarya.
159 Kaul writes *prathu'vun*, which he explains as 'of *prithvii* (earth) i.e. the land, *deesh*. This is redundant as the word *deesh* is already there.
160 Kaul, following Grierson, writes *shuubu'vu'nis* (worthy).

Grierson text:

ywsai sheel piitthis ta pattas
swy sheel chhey pruthi-voon deesh
swy sheel shuuba-vaa'nis grattas
Shiv chhuy kruutth taa'y tseen vwpadeesh

Vaakh No.53

(Bhaaskar-53/Grierson-53/Kaul-79)

rav matu' thali thali taa'pytan
taa'py tan vwtam deesh
varun matu' lootu' gari a'tsytan[161]
Shiv chhuy kruutth tu' tseen vwpdeesh

Rav – the sun; *thal* – *sthal*, place on earth; *taapun* – to heat; *Varuna* – the God of water; *loottu'* –pot for carrying water

[The Sun may not heat every spot;
It may warm only the lofty lot;
Varun may not seep every house-pot![162]
Shiva's is a hard path, take the cue.]

Bhaaskar text:

rav mata thali thali taapeetan
taapeetan ut-tamoo deesh
Varunoo mata lootthoo garu acheetan
Shiva chhoo kashttoo chin upadeesh

Grierson text:

rav mata thali thali taa'pytan
taa'pytan vwt-tom vwt-tom deesh
Varun mata luuka-garu' a'tsytan
Shiv chhuy kruutth ta tseen vwpadeesh

161 Kaul, following Grierson, writes *luuku'* (of people) instead of *loottu'* of Bhaaskar (both BTB and BRD **texts**).
162 i.e. can it ever happen that the Sun and the Varuna would be selective in their reach?

Vaakh No.54

(Bhaaskar-54/Grierson-54/Kaul-81)

yus maataa ruup pai diyas[163]
swy baa'ryaa ruup kari vilaas[164]
swy maayaa ruup anti zuv haryas
shiv chhuy kruutth tu' tseen vwpdeesh

Pai dyun – to cause to grow, nourish; *vilaas* – conjugal joy; *ulhaas* – to enjoy, be happy; *zuv harun* – to kill

[She who nourishes as the mother,
As wife brings the conjugal joy;
As *Maaya*, she finally, doth destroy:
Shiva's is a hard path, take the cue!]

Bhaaskar text:

isuy maataa ruupee paya deeyas
say baaryaa ruupee kari ulhaas
syuyee maayaa ruupee jiiv haris
Shiva chhoo kashttoo chin upadeesh

Grierson text:

yihai maatru-ruu'py pai diyee
yihai bhaarye-ruu'py kari visheesh
yihai maaye-ruu'py anti zuv heyee
Shiva chhuy kruutth ta tseen vwpadeesh

---

163 Kaul reproduces Grierson's text for the whole vaakh except substituting *maataa ruup* for his *maatru' ruup*.
164 BRD text gives *vilaas* (enjoy)

Vaakh No. 55

(Bhaaskar-55/Grierson-55/Kaul-109)

kandyav grih tai kandyav van vaas[165]
yoothooy chhuk ta tuthooy aas
manas dhairya ratth sampazakh suvaas
kyaa chhuy malun sur taay saas

Kandyav - bodily, being, person; *geh* - *griha*, home; *tiizun* - *tij*, to forsake; *van vaas* - living in wilderness, away from home; *dhairya* - control, equanimity; *suvaas* - living true (Grierson construes it *shavaas* (breath), which would've been written clearly by Bhaaskar if it had been meant so); *sur* - *suur* ashes *saas* - also ashes (mud, rags?)

[Whether at home, or wilderness, you live:
Be thou true to thy own being.
Rein in the mind, and you live true:
No ashes you need to daub thy hue!]

Bhaaskar text:

kandiv grih ta kandiv van vas
yoothooy chhuk ta teethooy aas[166]
manas dhairya ratth sampazakh suvaas
kyaa chhuy malun sur taay saas

Grierson text:

kandyav geh tyazy kandyav van-vaas
vyafol man naa rattith ta vaas
dyan raath ga'nzu'rith panun shvaas
yuthuy chhukh ta tyuthuy aas

165 Kaul, (page 188) following Grierson writes *tiizy* in place of *ta/tu'* of Bhaaskar. *Geh tiizun* (forsaking home) and *van vaas* (living in wilderness), meaning the same, make the line redundant. BTB's ta/tai makes it meaningful. However, the BRD text (page 25) carries *tya'zy* (forsook home), which may be a later correction.

166 BTB (folio 9) carries only this much and begins the next vaakh. The next two lines are as per the BRD text, page 25.

Vaakh No. 56

(Bhaaskar-56/Grierson-56/Kaul-95)

hee gwraa parmoo gwraa
baavtam tse chhuy antar vyod
dwshu'vai vwpu'daan kandi puraa
''*huu*'' kavu' turun, tu' "*haah*" kavu' tot[167]

Antar - insides, inner working ; *Vyod* - is known (to you); *Kandi puur* - umbilicus

[Hey my guide, my primal God!
Tell me ye all-knowing Lord;
Both from the body do emanate
Yet '*huu*' is cold and '*haa*' is hot?]

Bhaaskar text:

i guraa paramoo guraa
yee sadbhaav bhaav ta mi chuu
juu janee upanee kandaapuraa
huuh kava turanoo, haah kava tatoo

Grierson text:

yee gwraa Parmeeshvaraa!
baavtam tse chhuy antar vyodu'
dwshyavai vwpadaan kandaa-puraa
hu'h kava tu'run, ta haah kava tot

167 It is not clear why Grierson, and following him Kaul, has changed the text of *Bhaaskaraachaarya* for this *vaakh*. There is no point in changing Bhaaskar's *Paramoo gwraa*, to *Parmeeshvara*. The *vaakh* is apocryphal. Either, Lal asks the question and somebody else (guru) answers it, or vice versa.

Vaakh No.57

(Bhaaskar-57/Grierson-57/Kaul-96)

naabhistaanu' tsyath zalu'vu'ny

brahmasthaanas shishu' run mwkh

brahmaanddas chhai nad vahu'vuny

***huu* gavu' turun, *'haa'* gavu' tot**[168]

Naabisthan - the place of *naabhi,* umbilicus, the location of 2ND *Maniparva* chakra; *brahmasthaan* - the residence of Brahma *brahmaandd* - *zalu'vu'ny* - sizzling; *shishar* -chilly, wintery; *mwkh* - face; *vahu'vu'ny* - flowing.

[Sizzling is the nature of *naabhisthaan,*

But Brahmasthaan is a cool resort;

The *naaddii* flows through the Brahmaandd,

Therefore *'huu'* is cold and *'haa'* is hot.]

Bhaaskar. text:

naabhisthaana chit-t zalavanyee

brahmasthaanas shishiroon mukh

brahmaanddas chhiya nad vahavanyee

huuh gav turoon, haah gav totoo[169]

Grierson text:

naabisthaana chhey prakrath zalava'ny

hiddis taam yeti praan vata-got

brahmaandda pyattha suu'ty nadi vahavany

hu'h tava tu'run, ta 'haah' tava tot

---

168 Kaul reproduces the reading given by Grierson.

169 Parimo (Vaakh 68) gives both versions, putting Bhaaskar text with modifications in the last line, as an alternate version:

naabhisthaanas tsit zalu'vu'ny
brahmasthaanas shishrun mwkh
brahmaanddas chhai nad vahvu'ny
tavai turun 'huuh' 'haah' gwv tot

Vaakh No. 58

(Bhaaskar-58/Grierson-58/Kaul-139)

yi yi karm korum su artsun
yi rasni vyatsorum[170] tii manthu'r
yohai logmoo dihas partsun
suy yi Paramu' Shivun tanthu'r

Artsun – worship; *rasnii* – tongue; *vyatsaarun* – contemplate, utter; *parstun* – cognition; *tanthur* – working, play;

[Whatever I did, became worship true
All that my tongue uttered became a *mantar*
This was the kenning for my body, sheer:
That all is the play of Shiva, here!]

Bhaaskar text:

yoo yoo karm kar sooyee archun
yoo yoo rasnyee uch-chaaryam teey teey mantra
yoo yoo lagim deehas parichaya
soo soo param Shivaanoo tantra

Grierson text:

yih yih karm korum su artsun
yih rasani vwtstsorum tii manthu'r
yuhai logu'moo dihas partsun
suy yih parama-Shivun tanthu'r

170 It may be noted that while *vyatsoorum* (*vyachoorum*) could be written with exactitude in both Shaardaa and Dev Nagri scripts both texts (BTB and BRD) of Bhaaskaaraachaarya write the *tatsam* form *uch-chaaryam* not the *tad-bhav vyachoorum*.

Vaakh No. 59

(Bhaaskar-59/Grierson-59/Kaul-136)

tsu' naa bu' naa dai naa dyaan
gwv paanai sarva krai ma'shith
anyav ddyuutthukh kentsh naa anvai
gai sat layi par pa'shith

Dheey –the focus or object of meditation; *dhyaan* – the process of focusing or meditation, the concentration; *krai* – the ordinate acts; *anyav* – the blind; *anvai* – that which sustains; *sat* – the true ones; *layi gatshun* – get engrossed; *par* – *paraa*, the transcendent; *pashun* – to see

[Not you or I, neither the focus nor the font,
Ordinations the being himself hast forgot:
No succor the blind ones there did bear;
The true ones saw and cleaved to the thought.]

Bhaaskar text:

chuu naa bu naa dhyay naa taa dhyaanuy
gav paanaya sarva kriyaa macheet
anyaa ddiitthoo kinch naa anuy
gay sat layee par pashyeet

Grierson text:

tsu'h naa bwh naa dhyeey naa dhyaan
gav paanay sarva-krii ma'shith
anyav ddyuutthukh kentsh naa anvay
gay sath la'y par pashith

Vaakh No. 60

(Bhaaskar-60/Grierson-60/Kaul-99)

tshaanddaan luusu's paa'ny paanas
tshefi gyaanas vootum naa kuuntsh
lai ka'rmas tu' vaa'tsu's althaanas[171]
ba'ry ba'ry baanu' tu' chavaan na kuuntsh

Tshefi – hidden, concealed; *Lai karu'ny* – practice *laya yooga,*

[For my being, around I did look,
To the mystic Truth I failed to hook;
To self-absorption, myself I betook,
Bliss was all over, an overflowing brook!]

Bhaaskar text:

tshaanddaan luutshu's paanee paanas
tshipeeth gyaanas vaatoo naa koonch
lai karmas vaachus maikhaanas
bhareeth baana chyavaan na koonch

Grierson text:

tshaanddaan luutshu's paa'ny paanas
tshepith gyaanas vootum na kuuntsh
lai ka'ru'mas ta vaa'tsu's althaanas
ba'ry ba'ry baana ta chyavaan na kunh

171 *Althaanas* meaning 'a vinterners' is what Grierson's oral source reported. Both texts of Bhaaskar have ***maikhaanas***. It is very unlikely that *maikhaanas* would've been current in Lal's time. The word is either a substitution or a misreading of the actual word, which folk memory failed to grasp and preserve. It may be noted that Bhaaskar too was recording from oral traditions, though a couple of centuries prior to Grierson.

Additional Vaakhs of Lal

Compiled By

George Abraham Grierson In Lalu'vaakyaanii (1920)

Vaakh No.61

(Grierson-61/Kaul-49)

yuh yi karm karu' pyatrun[172] paanas
arzun barzun beyan kyut
anti laagi rost pushrun sw-wtmas
adu' yuury gatshu' tu' tuury chhum hyot

Pyatrun - to deal with, answer for; *arzun barzun* - strivations, work, labour; *anti* - towards the end; *laagi rust* - *aasakt*, without any attachment; *pushrun* - to resign to; *sw-aatma* - one's own self, that which is one with or part of the eternal one; *Hyot* - *hiitoo*, purpose, object

[Whatever I do, I myself must bear
The fruit is for others to heed;
Unattached, to the self must submit
And follow wherever it doth lead.]

Grierson text:

Yuhu' yih karm kara pyatarun[1] paanas
arzun barzun biyis kyut
antihi laagi-rost pusherun svaatmas
ada yuury gatsha ta tuury chhum hyot

172 Parimo *'partsun'* – (Kaul)

Vaakh No.62

(Grierson-62/Kaul-22)

raajas baa'j yemy kartal paa'j[173]
swrgas baa'j chhuy taf tai daan
sa'hazas baaj yemy gwru' kath paa'j
paapu' pwny baa'j chhuy panu'nuy paan

Baa'j - *bhoogii*, enjoys (the rule) *paa'j* - *tuj*, took up (the sword); *taf* - tap, penance; *daan* - charity; *sahaz* - truth, equanimity

[His is the kingdom as weilds a sword;
Heaven is the wage for piety and penance;
He who follows the preceptor gains peace:
Sin and succor lie within your being.]

Grierson text:

rajyes baa'jy yemy kartal tyaa'jy[174]
svargas baa'jy chhuy taf taa'y daan
sa'hazas baajy yemy gwra-kath paa'jy
papa-pwne-baa'jy chhuy panunuy paan

Vaakh No.63

(Grierson-63/Kaul-62)

gyaanu' maarg chhai haaku' vaa'r
dizyas shamu' damu' krayi pa'ny
laamaa tsa'kru' posh praa'ny krai vaa'r
khyanu' khyanu' mwtsii vaa'ru'y chhenii

Gyaana maarg - path of knowledge; *haaku'vaa'r* - garden where the staple Kashmir vegetable, *haakh*, (*saag*), is grown. The whole *vaakh*

173 Wancho '*tujii*' took up; Paarimoo's '*tyaajii*', i.e. one who forsook, not one who wielded it, is not quite apt here.
174 cf. note above

revolves around this metaphor for the spiritual attainments (*pa'ny dazyas*, secure its boundary with poles of *sham* and *dam*, to keep the animals of *vaasnaas* and fate out and prevent their eating up the vegetables i.e merits grown and gathered there).[175]

[Path of knowledge is a vegetable garden,
Secure it with striving, the hardy brackets,
From the animals around, thy past acts,
Lest they eat it up and finish thy store.]

Grierson text:

Gyaana-maarg chhey haaka-vaa'r
dizyas shyama-dama-kriye-pa'ny
laamaa-tsakra-poshu' praa'ny krii daa'r
khyana khyana mwtsii vaa'ru'y chhyany

Vaakh No.64

(Grierson-64/Kaul-110)

kalan kaalu' zaa'ly yodvai tse gol
vendiv geeha va vendiv vanuvaas
zaa'nith sarvagath proobhuu amol
yuthuy zaanakh tuthuy aas

Kaalu' zaa'ly - the *malaas* of *kalaa, kaal, raag* etc., the limitation of powers; *galun* - to wear out, melt away; *vandun* - to harbor, in habit; *sarvagath* - the cycle of omniscience, the powers without the limitations

[The web of desires, if you wear out,
Whether living at home or atop a mount:
With the awareness of Divine Truth, rare,
Be thou true to thyself, my dear].

175 This is another vaakh that goes against the concept of *sahaj* i.e. the easy access Kashmir Shaivism ideates. It also does not gel with the idea that Lal preached a simple of approach to godliness.

Grierson text:

kalan kaala-zaa'ly yidu'vay tse gol
vyandiv gih vaa vyandiv van-vaas
zaa'nith sarva-gath Probhu' amol
yuthuy zaanyakh tyuthuy aas

Vaakh No.65

(Grierson-65/Kaul-111)

Shiv-Shiv karaan hamsa gath sorith
ruuzith vyavhaa'ry dyan kyaav raath
laagi rost aduy yus manu' ka'rith
ta'sy nyath prasan suru' guru' naath

'hamsa' is the Sanskrit for 'swan'. If the Dev Nagri letters are reversed it reads *'saaham'*, yielding the mystic meaning, *'sa'* (He) *'aham'* 'I am' - 'He I am' an approximation of *"ahm asmi"*. In Kashmiri *hamsa* becomes *hamsu'*. The syallables get reversed in chanting, now sounding *'hamsu'* now *'suham'*. The swan though living in water doesn't get wet; this serves as an illustration of living in *samsaara* without getting attached to the world.

[He who chants 'Shiva' and lives like a swan,
Though wrapped in domesticity, night-n-day;
If detached in mind, in oneness be poised,
The Lord of all is ever pleased with his way.]

Grierson text:

Shiva–Shiva karaan hamsa-gath swrith
ruuzith vyavahaa'ry dyan kyoh raath
laagi-rost aduy yus man karith
ta'sy nyath prason sura-guru-naath

Vaakh No. 66

(Grierson- 66/Kaul-16)

tsarman tsa'ttith ditith pa'ny paanas
tyuth kyah vavyooth tu' falihii soov
muuddis vwpdeesh gai riinzy ddumattas
ka'ny daandas goor aaprith roov

tsarman – *tsam*, skin*pa'ny* – pegs; *ddumatt* – a stone edifice; *riinzy* – a child's toy for throwing pebbles; *ka'ny daand* – a grey bull; *goor* – brown sugar; *aaprun* – to feed by hand

[Tearing thy skin to shore up the self:
Did you sow enough to reap a harvest?
Teaching a fool is shooting at a stone;
Sugar fed to a bull is lost for good.]

Grierson text:

tsarmun tsa'ttith ditith pa'ny paanas
tyuth kyah vavyooth ta falihii soov
muuddis vwpadeesh ga'y riinzy ddumattas
ka'ny daandas goor aaparith roov

Vaakh No.67

(Grierson-67/Kaul-2)

la'lith la'lith vadai bw daay
tsitaa muhu'ch peyii maay
roozii noo patu' lwh langu'ru'ch tshaay
nizu'swruup[176] kyah motthyuy haay

tsitaa – conscience, being that which feels; *la'lith*– soothingly, *lwh*

176 Kaul's *tiizu' swruup*, in text appears (page 62) appears to be a printing error; the word used in glossary (page 333) in *nizu' swruup* – the meaning in Urdu (page 63) too is of this word.

langer – iron chains and the hook to hold a boat, the world; *nizu' swruup* – True being.

[Sobbing and shouting, I cry out to thee
Why did you get so deluded, O being!
This world won't endure for long
Oh! How you forget your mooring!]

Grierson text:

lalith lalith vadai bw daa'y
tsitaa ! muhu'ch peyii maay
roozii noo pata lwh langaru'ch tshaay
niza-svaruu'f kyah motthuy haay

Vaakh No.68

(Grierson-68/Kaul-131)

Lal bw tsaayas swmanu' baagubaras
vuchhum Shiv-Shakht miilith tu' vah
ta'ty lai ka'ru'm amratu' saras
zindai maras tu' me kari kyah

Swman – of my own accord, *ichhaa bar* – gate; *amryatu'sar* – the lake of ambrosia; *zindai marun* – to live but to feel no bond of living.

[I entered the garden of my own accord,
There Shiva-Shakti con-joined did regard:
My being I engrossed in that of lake bliss,
Now, I live like dead, me nothing will retard].

Grierson text:

Lal bwh tsaayas swman-baaga-baras
vuchhum Shivas Shyakhu'th miilith ta vah
ta'ty lay ka'ru'm amryata-saras
zinday maras ta me kari kyah

Vaakh No.69

(Grierson-69/Kaul-91)

tsitu' twrug vagi hyath rottum
tsyalith milu'vith dashi naaddi vaav
tavai shashi kal vyaglith va'tshu'm
shuunyas shuunyah miilith gwv

Tsit – *chit,* mind;*twrug* – horse; *tsyalith* – compressed;

[The sense steed by the lead I caught
The air I pummelled into *naaddiis* ten
The moon in *Sahasraar* then did drip
(Finite) void into the void (infinite) did trip.]

Grierson text:

Tsita-turog vagi hyath rottum
tselith milavith dashe-naaddi-vaav
tavay sheshi kal veglith va'tshu'm
shuunyas shuu'nyah miilith gav

Vaakh No. 70

(Grierson-70/Kaul-53)

tsyath amar pathi tha'vy zee
ti traa'vith lagoo zuuddee
tati tsu' noo shinkyzee[177] su'ndariizee
dwdu' shur ti kwchhi noo muuddee

Tsyath – conscience *amar pathi* – on the eternal path; *zuudce* (*zuuree*) – *dupu' zuur* or *zuudd* is the wooden stand for burning fragrant herbs *dupu'*. Also used as a stand for the oil lamp; *lagoo zuuree* – shall be

177 *Shinkizi,* from *shankaa,* (reservation, apprehension) is more apt then Kaul's *shakizee* alluding to *shak* (doubt).

burnt up, lost; *shankaa* - apprehension; *sandaarun* - to steady ones self; *kwchhi* - from lap; *muurun* - to forsake

[Focus thy conscience on the eternal way
Forsake it and you may get lost;
Be steadfast, no doubts entertain:
An infant too, to the lap holds fast.]

Grierson text:

tsyath amara-pathi thaa'vyzi
tih traa'vith lagi zuuddee
tati tsu'h noo shinkyzi sandaa'ryzi
dwda-shur ta kwchhe noo muuddee[178]

Vaakh No. 71

(Grierson-71/Kaul-37)

maarukh maaru' buuth kaam, kruud, luub
natu' kaan ba'rith maaru'nai paan
manee khyan dikh swvyatsaar sham
vishee tihund kyah keth droo vzaan

Maaru'buuth - killing instincts; *kaan* - arrow; *swvyatsaar* - right thinking; *droov* - strong, stout

[Kill the killers - lust, anger, greed;
Else they'll kill thee with arrows sure
A right thinking mind, them do feed
For, they are very stout in deed!]

178 Variants: *zuuree, muuree* (LV-G, page86)

Grierson text:

maarukh maara-buuth kaam kruud luub
na-ta kaan barith maarlney[179] paan
manay khen dikh sva-vyatsaar shem
vishey tihond kyah kyuth druvu' zaan

Vaakh No. 72

(Grierson-72/Kaul-29)

tsalu' tsitaa vwndas bai moo bar
choon tsinth karaan paanu' anaad
tse kav zanany khyood, harih kar
kiival tasu'ndee taaruk naad

Tsalu' tsitaa – wandering mind; *tsinth* – *chint,* care; *anaad* – soundless; *khyood* – hunger; *naad* – Divine Call

[Frighten not the heart, O fickle mind:
The soundless One, for thee, doth care!
You can't ken your hunger, chant Hari:
And, await the call coming from There!]

Grierson text:

tsala tsitaa! vwndas bhaye moo bar
chaa'ny tsinth karaan paana Anaad
tse koo-zanani kshyod, hari, kar
keeval tasonduy taaruk naad

179 *maarlney* cf. note on vaakh 1

Vaakh No. 73

(Grierson-73/Kaul-12)

tsaamar chha'tu'r rath simhaasan

halaad naatti ras tulu' paryankh

kyah maa'nith yati sa'thir aasun

kavu' zan kaasii maru'nu'ny shyeenkh

tsaamar - fly whisker; *chhatu'r* - royal umbrella; *rath* - the royal carriage; *simhaasan* - throne; *halaad* - joy; *naatti ras* - enjoyment of dramas; *pareenkh* - comfortable bed

[Whisker, umbrella, carriage and the throne;

Pleasures, dramas and, a fine couch:

Can these things last one out here?

Would they shear, thy fear of death?]

Grierson text:

tsaamar chha'tu'r rathu simhaasan
hlaad naa-tte ras tuula-paryaa'nkh
kyah maa'nith yiti sthir aasavun
koo-zana kaasii maranu'ny shaa'nkh

Vaakh No. 74

(Grierson-74/Kaul-13)

kyah boddukh mohu' bavu' sodru' darai

soth luhrith peyii tamu' paa'nkh

yamu' batthu' karu'nai kaa'ly chhooru' darai

kavu' zan kaasii maru'nu'ny sheenkh

Boddun - to shrink *daru'* - the fast current; *soth luhrun* - dismantle a barrage; *tamu'* - *tamas,* darkness; *yamu' batthu'* - angels of death; *chhooru' daru'* - *chhoku'lad,* injured; *shaa'nkh* - fear

[How, in the ocean of delusion, you have sunk!
The bridge is broken, in darkness you drown!
The angels of death shall slay thee soon!
What say, would shear thy death's fear?]

Grierson text:

kyah bwddukh muha bhava-swdu'ra daare
swth luurith peyiy tama-paa'nkh
yema-batth kariney kaa'ly chhoora-daare
koo-zana kaasii maranu'ny shaa'nkh

Vaakh No. 75

(Grierson-75/Kaul-101)

karm zu' kaaran tre kombith
yavu' labakh parlookas aa'nkh
vwth khas suurya manddal tsombith
tavai tsalii marnu'ny shaa'nkh

Karm zu' – two actions, good and bad; *kaaran tre* – three causes, three mala or cloacks; *kaarm mal, aanav mal, maayi mal* (differention); *parluuk* – the transcendental world; *suurya manddal* – the circle of Sun at umblicus or *naabhii*

[Transcend the acts two, causes three
A way, you may find, to the lofty realm;
Pierce the circle of Sun and ascend –
The fear of death then you would rend!]

Grierson text:

karm zu'h kaaran tre'h kombith
yava labakh paralookas aa'nkh
vwth khas suurya-manddal tswmbith
tavay tsalii maranu'ny shaa'nkh

Vaakh No.76

(Grierson-76/Kaul-102)

gyaanu'ky ambar paa'rith tanee
yim pad Lali da'py tim hradi aa'nkh
kaaru'ny pru'navu'ky lai kor Lalee
tsyath jiiv tu' kaa'su'n maru'nu'ny shaa'nkh

Ambar - robes pad - *padya,* verses *hradiaa'nk* - ken them with heart *pranu'vu'ky,* - of *praanav,* Om; *lai karun* - to practice hard

[Donning the robe of knowledge ponder,
Over the utterances of Lal yonder:
Essence of the Om, Lal did rear;
Kenned the Truth and death did shear.]

Grierson text:

gyaanu'ky ambar pairith tanee
yim pad Lali da'py tim hryadi aa'nkh
kaaru'ny pranavu'ky lay kor Lalee
tsyath-jyooti kaa'su'n maranu'ny shaa'nkh

Vaakh No.77

(Grierson-77/Kaul-60)

maa'rith paantsh bhuuth tim falu' ha'nddy
tsiitan daanu' vokhur khyath
tadai zaanakh pram pad tsa'nddy
hishii khosh khoor kootu naa kyath

Maarun - to kill, to control; *paa'ntsh bhuuth* - five ghosts, *moh luub* etc. *falu' ha'nddy* - *fal* in the special vocabulary of the butchers, means meat, *falu' haa'nddy* is fat sheep, carrying enough meat; *tsii-*

tan – thought; *daanu'* – grains *vokhur* – *yaaji* cup-shaped, cooked bread of rice-floor; *parmu' paad* – the primal word, Om *kyath* – *kashtii*, loss

[Slay five *bhuuts*, the fat sheep
Fed on mind, body and the senses
Then the lash of 'Om' you'd ken;
The left path is proven no different, then.]

Grierson text:

maa'rith paa'ntsh bhuuth tim fal-handdii
tseetan-daana-vakhur khyath
taday zaanakh paramu pad tsa'nddii
hishiy khwshikhwr koonh-ti na khyath

Vaakh No.78

(Grierson-78/Kaul-120)

Kus ddingi tu' kus zaagi?
Kus sar vatri teelii?
Kus Haras puuz laagi?
Kus parma padu' meelii?

Ddingun – to sleep; *zaagun* – to lie in wait; *sarvatri* – *sarva atr*, all here; *teelun* – to pervade Hara –Shiva

[Who sleeps and who is awake?
Which lake doth ever ooze?
How shall Shiva be worshipped?
What the primal word thee'd gain?]

Grierson text:

Kus ddingi tu' kus zaagi?
Kus sar vatari teelii?
Kus Haras puuzi laagi?
Kus parama pad meelii?

Vaakh No. 79

(Grierson-79/Kaul-121)

man ddingi tu' akwl zaagi
ddaa'ddy sar panchi yandy vatri teelii
sva-vyatsaar paan Haras puuzi laagi
parmu' pad tseetnu Shiv meelii

A'kwl - that which is beyond creation, Transcendent, Param Shiva *sva- vyatsaar* - meditating on self; *ddaa'ddy* - stout; *sar* -lake; *panchi yandy* - five senses; *vatri teelii* - seeping all

[Mind sleeps, the yonder One is awake
Five senses, the lakes stout, ever do ooze;
With awareness of self, is Hara worshipped;
Mulling the primal word, Shiva you'd gain.]

Grierson text:

man ddingi ta akwl zaagi
ddaa'ddy sar pancha-yindy vatari teelii
sva-vyatsaar-pwny Haras puuzi laagi
Parama-pad tseetana-Shiv meelii

Vaakh No. 80

(Grierson-80/Kaul-80)

zaanu'haa naaddidal mani ra'ttith
tsa'ttith va'ttith kuttith kleesh
zaanu' haa adu' astu' rasaayan ga'ttith
Shiv chhuy kruutth tu' tseen vwpdeesh

kleesha – grief; *Naaddiidal* – the bunch of *naadiis.*

[Had I known, how, the *naaddiis*[180], to hold
Sunder and pummel'em; beat grief to pulp;
And, how to make the Universal drink:
Shiva's is a hard path, take the cue!]

Grierson text:

Zaanahaa' naaddi-dal mana rattith
tsattith vattith kuttith kleesh
zaanahaa' ada asta rasaayan gattith
Shiv chhuy kruutth ta tseen vwpadeesh

Vaakh No. 81

(Grierson-81/Kaul-116)

mad pivoom[181] sendy zalan yayuut
rangan liilu'my keem keetsu'
kuu'ty kheyam manshi maamu'su'ky na'ly
swy Lal tu' gav me kyaa

---

180 There are two types of *naadiis*. One is the group of three *Ida, Pingla* and *Sushumna*, through which *Kunddalini* rises. Ida is placed on the left and *Pingla* on the right of *Meeruu* (spinal cord) while *Sushuma* runs in the middle. These are called the auspicious ones. These go round all the lotuses or *chakras*, passing from left to right and right to left. The others are the 72,000 *naaddiis* pervading the whole body. "The plexuses or *chakras* are connected by energy-currents called *naaddiis*... *Naaddii* is commonly understood as nerve but it is astral and not physical" (Devaatma Shakti p. 157, quoted by Parimoo, *ibid.*, page70)

181 Sanskrit, '*piban*' – to drink

[Wine like waters of Syand I drank;
Many a drama, here I did guide;
Countless bones of humans I ate:
The same Lal, I am, and how I bide!]

Grierson text:

mad pyuvum syandu-zalan yaitu
rangan liilu'm keyem kaitsa
kaity khyem manushe maamsu'ky nalii
swy bwh Lal ta gav me kyah

Vaakh No.82

(Grierson-82/Kaul-94)

Omkaar yeli layi onum
vuhi korum panun paan
she vot traa'vith sath maarg rottum
yeli Lal bw vaa'tsu's prakaash than

Layi anun – to perfect the practice; *vuhi karun* – to burn; *she vot* – crossing of 6 paths[182]; *sat marg* – the path of Truth

[Perfecting the practice of Om,
Turning my being into ambers hot,
The snags six crossed, took the true path:
Access to the Abode of Light I got!]

Grierson text:

Oomkaar yali layee onum
vuhi korum panun paan
she vot traa'vith sath maarg rottum
teli Lal bwh vaa'tsu's prakaashe-sthaan

182 Jayalal Kuol says that 'probably, these 'six' refer to the '*shaddaadhava*' – *varan, mantar pad, kalaa, tat-tva* and *bhuvan* – of *Trika Shaastar*, the six paths of '*aanav upaay*'. *Sath maarg* – 'Truth path', is *Shaambhav upaay*'.

Vaakh No.83

(Grierson-83/Kaul-9)

gaattulah akh vuchhum bwchii suu'ty maraan
pan zan haraan puhni vaavu' lahi
nesh bwd akh vuchhum vaazas maaran
tanu' Lal boo praaraan tshenyam naa prah

Pan harun - shed leaving; *puh* - Pos month, winter; *nesh bwd* - idiot; *prah* - bond

[A wise one I saw dying of hunger,
Wasting like leaves in winter's lap:
A fool I saw then beating the cook;
Lal is waiting since, for bonds to snap.]

Grierson text:

gaattulah akh vuchhum bwcha-suu'ty maraan
pan zan haraan puhani vaava lah
neshebwd akh vuchhum vaazas maaraan
tana Lal bwh praaraan tshenyam-na prah

Vaakh No.84

(Grierson-86[183]/Kaul-108)

raazu'hams aa'sith sapdukh koluy
kustaam tsoluy kyahtaam hyath
grattu' gwv band tu' grattan hyot goluy
grattu'vool tsoluy fal fol hyath

Hamsu - *hans*, the swan; *kol* - dumb; *gol hyon* - a mill overflowing with grain

183 Griersons vaakhs 84 (*Yi kyah aa'sith yi kyuth rang goom bee rang*) and 85 (Yi kyah aa'sith yi kyuth rang goom chhang goom) have been entered under Vaakh nos II:136 and II:137

[A swan, thou hast became dumbfounded;
Someone has made away with something thine.
The mill hast stopped; it's bereft, gone dry
The miller, with the grain, away did fly].

Grierson text:

Raaza-hams aa'sith sapodukh koluy
Kus-taam tsoluy kyah-taam hyath
grattu' gav band taa'y grattan hyot goluy
gratta-vool tsoluy fal-fol hyath

Vaakh No.85

(Grierson-87/Kaul-17)

niyam karyooth garbaa
tsyatas kar baa peyii
marnu' broonthu'y mar baa
ma'rith martab hurii

Garb – womb; *martab* – *rutba*, status (Persian, apparently interpolated)

[While in womb you made a pact:
When would you remember that?
Go, taste death before you die:
To a higher state, then, you'd hie.]

Grierson text:

niyem karyooth garbaa
tsetas kar-baa peyiy
marana broontha'y mar-baa
marith ta martaba huriy

Vaakh No. 86

(Grierson-88/Kaul-35)

athu' ma baa traavun khar baa
luuku' hu'nzi kwngu' vaari kheyii
tati kus baa daarii thar baa
yeti na'nis kartal peyii

thar daarun – to present one's back; *kartal* – sword

[Let not thy donkey go loose
It'll devour someone's saffron field.
Who will stand in your stead,
When sword hits you sans a shield?]

Grierson text:

atha ma-baa traavun khar-baa!
Luuka-hu'nzu' kwng-vaa'r kheyiy
tati kus-baa daarii thar-baa
yeti na'nis kartal peyiy

Vaakh No. 87

(Grierson-93[184]/Kaul-138)

tsyath novuy, tsa'ndram novuy
zalu' me ddyuutthum navam novuy
yanu' Lali me tan man noovuy
tanu' lal boo navam na'vu'y chhas

184 Griersons's 4 *vaakhs* here i.e. 89 (*Laachaar bichaar pravaad korum*), 90 (*Praan tu' ruhun kunuy zoonum*), 91 (*Syadi maali syadhav*), 92 (*Broontthu' kaa'ly aasan tithii keeran*) have been entered under Vaakh nos II-138/II-139/II:196/ II:197

[A new conscience, a novel moon,
Waters renewed every soon;
Then my body and mind did rinse;
Myself all new, I have found since.]

Grierson text:

tsyath novuy, tsa'ndu'ram novuy
zalamay ddyuutthum navam-novuy
yena pyattha Lali me tan man noovuy
tana Lal bwh navam-na'vu'y chhas

Vaakh No. 88

(Grierson-94/Kaul-21)

gwran vonu'nam kunuy vatsun
nyabru' dopnam andar atsun
suy me lali gov vaakh tu' vatsun
tavai me hyotum nangai natsun

[My guru gave me but one lead;
Within from without, do speed;
It was the word and text for me,
And, I began to dance in glee.]

Grierson text:

gwran vonu'nam kunuy vatsun
nyabu'ra dopu'nam anda'raa'y atsun
suy gav me Lali vaakh ta vatsun
tavay me hyotum nangay natsun

Vaakh No. 89

(Grierson-95/Kaul-6)

kyah karu' paantsan dahan tu' kahan
vwkhshun yath leji yim ka'rith gai
saa'rii samu'han yath razi lamu'han
adu' kyaazi raavihee kahan gaav

Paa'nts – five; *dah* – ten; *kah* – eleven; *gaav raavu'ny* – a symbol for disunity leading to loss.

[What'll I do with five, ten and eleven[185]
They have only pestered the pot:
If they pulled the rope in unison;
None would then overturn their lot!]

Grierson text:

kyah kara paa'ntsan dahan ta kaahan
vwkh-shun yith leje karith yim gaiy
saa'rii samahaa'n yith razi lamahaa'n
ada kyaazi raavihee kaahan gaav

Vaakh No. 90

(Grierson- 96/Kaul- 10)

da'mii ddiitthu'm nad vah vany
da'mii ddyuutthu'm sum na tu' taar
da'mii ddiitthu'm tha'r fwlu'vu'nii
da'mii ddyuutthum gul na tu' khaar

Nad – nadii, river; *vahu'vu'ny* – flowing; *sum tu taar – sum* is a rope for crossing a river; *taar* – is a line of borders sticking over the waters,

185 'five' and 'ten' stand for the *indriyas* (*gyaan/karma* and both together), while addition of *maanas* or mind makes it eleven. *'kah'* – eleven – is made of two ones, which may be seen as standing united or disjointed *kahan*.

over which one can leap across a river; *gul tu' khaar* - flower and thorn Persian words and their usage is very unlikely to have been in the vocabulary of Lal.

[One instant I saw the river flowing;
One instant there was no bridge, no bank;
One instant I saw the bough well laden;
One instant there was no flower no thorn.]

Grierson text:

da'mii ddiitthu'm nad vahavu'nii
da'mii ddyuutthum sum na ta taar
da'mii ddiitthu'm tha'r fwlu'vu'nii
da'mii ddyuutthum gul na ta khaar

Vaakh No.91

(Grierson-97/Kaul-11)

da'mii ddiitthu'm ga'j dazu' vu'nii
da'mii dduutthum du'h na tu' naar
da'mii diitthu'm Paanddav maa'jii
da'mii diitthu'm kraa'jii maas

Paanddav maa'j, kraa'j maas - maas is the sister of mother *(maa'j) kraa'j - potteress*. The legend has it that once during their exile, the Paanddava brothers along with their mother were in utter destitution having nothing to eat. They took refuge with a potter. Hence they called the *potteress* their maas, mother's sister

[One instant, I saw the hearth ablaze;
One instant, there was no smoke, no fire:
One instant, I saw the mother of Paanddavs;
One instant, it was the potteress, their aunt.]

Grierson text:

da'mii ddiitthu'm ga'j dazu' vu'nii
da'mii ddyuutthum du'h na ta naar
da'mii diitthu'm Paanddavan hu'nzy maa'jii
da'mii diitthu'm kraa'jii maas

Vaakh No.92

(Grierson-98[186]/Kaul-5)

aayas vatee ga'yas nu' vatee
suman swthi manz luusum dwh
chandas vuchhum tu' haar na atee
naavi taaras dimu' kyah bw

[I came up the way but didn't go along;
In the midst of the way, my day was done;
I checked my pocket, no money there:
How shall I pay now, the boatman, here?]

Grierson text:

aayes vatee gayes na vatee
suman-swthi-manz[187] luustum dwh
chandas vuchhum ta haar na athee[188]
naava-taaras dima kyah bwh

186 Vaakh No. 99 and 100 of Grierson , ''*gaa'filoo hu'ku'* ....'' and ''*daman basti ditoo.....*'' being proven not to be compositions of Lal have been excluded. Vaakh 101 ''*dihachi lari daari bar ...*'' entered u/Vaakh – II:142

187 Variant : *swa-man-swthi-manz* (LV-G, page110)

188 Variant: *Har-naaw na athee* (LV-G, page110)

Vaakh No. 93

(Grierson-102/Kaul-106)

Lal bw draayas kapsi pooshchi sa'tsu'y
kaa'ddy tu' duuny ka'rnam ya'tsu'y lath
tu'yi yeli khaarinam zaa'yiji tu'yee
voovu'ry vaanu' ga'yam alaa'nzu'y lath

[Lal, I bloomed white like a flower of cotton,
The comber and the carder churned me rotten,
Then, they spun me into me int fibres fine,
Stood me upside down on the weaving board.]

Grierson text:

Lal bwh draayes kapasi-poosheche sa'tsu'y
kaa'ddy tu' duuny ka'rnam ya'tsu'y lath
tu'yi yeli khaarenam zaa'yije[189] tu'ye
voovu'ry vaanu' ga'yam alaa'nzu'y lath

Vaakh No. 94

(Grierson-103/Kaul-107)

doby yeli chhaa'vnas doby kani pyatthai
saz tu' saaban ma'tshnam ya'tshee
su'tsy yeli firanam hani hani kaa'tsu'y
adu' lali me praa'vu'm parmu' gath

[The washerman thrashed me hard on the slab;
Soaped and rinsed me, as per his wont:
Scissors the tailor ran all through me;
Only then did I attain to the lofty realm.]

189 *zaa'yije/zaa'vije*: cf. note on vaakh1 regarding the text version of Grierson.

Grierson text:

doby yeli chhaa'vnas doby kani pyattha'y
saz tu' saaban ma'tshu'nam ya'tshu'y
su'tsy yeli firu'nam[190] hani-hani kaa'tsu'y
ada Lali me praa'vu'm parma-gath

Vaakh No.95

(Grierson- 104/Kaul- 92)

sa'tsu'sas na saatas pa'tsu'sas nu' rumas
su mas me lali choov panu'nuy vaakh
a'ndryum gattakh ra'ttith tu' voolum
tsa'ttith tu' dyutmas ta'tii chaakh

Sa'tsu'sas - did not hope for; *saat* - the auspicious hour; *pa'tsu'sas* - did not wait; *rumas* - an instant; *gattakh* - darkness

[I tarried not for omens, nor did ever lag,
My own voice, I heeded and off it did drink;
I pounced upon the darkness, within,
And sundered it wide, then and there.]

Grierson text:

sa'tsu'sas na saatas pa'tsu'sas nu' rumas
suh mas me Lali chyav panunuy vaakh
a'ndryum gattakh rattith ta voolum
tsattith ta dyutu'mas tatii chaakh

190 Variant: *yeli firu'nas* (LV-G, page-114)

Vaakh No.96

(Grierson-105/Kaul-88)

pot zuuni va'thith mot boolu'noovum
dag lalu'naa'vvu'm dayi su'nzi prayee
la'ly la'ly karaan laal vuznoovum
miilith tas man shrootsyoom dahee[191]

Pot zuun – early dawn when moon is about to set; *mot* – the mad one, the aspiring soul; *Dai* – God, Lord, (The word is very close to Roman *Dei* phonetically as well as in meaning) *prayee* – longing; *Laal* – ruby, the sparking self within, (If the word is read *laalu'* it'd mean both the beloved and the Lord); *shrootsun* – to get sanctified

[Up at moon's last watch, I made the mad one croon,
The ache of divine longing, I bore for His sake
Striving ever, the self within, I awakened nigh,
Cleaved to Him in mind, my being did purify.]

Grierson text:

pot zuuni vwthith mot boolanoovum
dag lalanaa'vvu'm daye-sanze prahee
La'ly La'ly karaan Laala vuzanoovum
miilith tas man shrootsyoom dahee

Vaakh No.97

(Grierson-106/Kaul-1)

aami panu' sa'dras naavi chhas lamaan
kati boozi Dai myoon me ti diyi taar
aamyan ttaakyan poony zan shamaan
zuv chum bramaan garu' gatshu'haa

191 *'dihee'* i.e. the body. An alternative reading can be *'dahee'*, the ten *indriyaas* or senses, (Kaul 162).

oom pan – unwoven thread; *sa'dr* – sea; *shamaan* – oozing out; *oom ttook* – an unbaked earthen plate

[With a string raw, my boat I draw, over the expanse:
Won't my Lord heed and vouch me a chance!
Like the water oozing from an unbaked urn
My heart is raked by the longing to return.]

Grierson text:

aami panu' sa'du'ras naavi chhes lamaan
kati boozi Day myoon me-ti diyi taar
aamyan ttaakyan poony zan shamaan
zuv chhum bramaan gara gatchahaa'

Vaakh No.98

(Grierson-107/Kaul-15)

haa manshi kyaazi chhukh vutthaan seki luur
ami ratti hi maali pakii nu' naav
lyuukhuy yi Naaraa'ny karmu'ni ru'khi
ti maali hekii nu' firith kanh

ami ratti – *ami suu'ty ra'ttith,* held by this rope of sand [*ami ru'khi* – 'by this line', is not apt as the Kashmiri word *ru'kh* (a line, say, on paper), does not carry the connotation of a rope, which is one of the meanings of the English word 'line']

[Why, O man! you weave a rope of sand
By this hold, no boat, ever would land!
The lot which the Lord hast alloted thee
None here, can blot that fate, dear me!]

Grierson text:

haa manshe! kyaazi chhukh vutthaan seki-lavar
ami ru'khi[192] haa maali! pakii na naav
lyuukhuy yih Naaraa'ny karmane ru'khi
ti maali! hekii na firith kaanh

Vaakh No. 99

(Grierson- 108/Kaul- 23)

naabu'dy baaras attu' gandd ddyol goom
dyah kaadd hol goom hyaku' kahyoo
gwru' sund vanun raavan tyol pyoom
pahli ros khyol goom hyaku' kahyoo

Deh kaadd - the body-line, straight back; *raavan tyol* - the pang of loss, the realization of how much has been lost;

[My sugary load has gone loose,
Oh! The weight yet bends my back,
My guru's call has deepened the gall,
Shepherdless, my herd is wandering nigh.]

Grierson text:

naabu'dy-baaras atta-gandd ddyol goom
dyan kaar[193] hol goom hyaku' kahyuu
gwra-sund vanun raavan tyol pyoom
pahali-rost khyol goom hyaku' kahyuu

192 *ru'khi* - by this line; variant of *ra'tti* (LV-G, page117)
193 Parimo: *deehkan*

Vaakh No. 100

(Grierson-109[194]/Kaul-128)

a'ndrii aayas tsandru'y gaaraan
tshaaraan aayas hiyaan hihy
tsu'y hai Naaraan! tsu'y hai Naaraan[195]
tsu'y hai Naaraan! yim kam vihy

[I searched within for the (mystic) moon,
Looking there for the likes of Thee:
Here you beg; there you slay;
Why this play O, Lord of All!]

Grierson text:

a'ndu'rii aayas tsandu'rii gaaraan
gaaraan aayes hihen hihy
tsu'y hee Naaraan! tsu'y hee Naaraan!
tsu'y hee Naaraan! yim kam vihy

---

194 Appendix I of Grierson (LV-G, pages, 120-127) carries 12 entries, taken from J H Knowles's "Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings". These are:
Aayas vatee ga'yas nu' vatee...(repeat of LV-G 98 cf. V – I:92)
aayi vaa'nis gai kaandris ...(only one line, not a vaakh;a proverb)
Daman Byasiti ditoo dam...(repeat of LV-G 99-100; not of Lal)
Damii ddiitthu'm nad... (repeat of LV-G 96-97 cf. V - I:90)
Dilkis baagas duur...(not a vaakh of Lal)
Diluk khuru'-khuru'...(entered U/V - II:145)
Keentsan diitthim gulaalu'...(entered U/ V - II:144)
Keentsan ddyuutthum oorai...(entered U/ V - II:214)
Keentsan dyut tham yuut kiho...(included U/ V - II:214)
Keentsan ra'ny chhai shihij...(entered under V - II: 215)
Nafu'su'y myoon...(entered U/ V - II:220)
Siry yas hyu na prakaash...(entered U/ V - I:135)

195 A variant of this line is: *tsu'y athu' daaraan, tsu'y hai maaraan* (Kaul)

ADDITIONAL VAAKHS OF LAL

compiled by

Jayalal Kaul in LAL DYAD (Kashmiri)[196]

Vaakh No. 101

(Kaul-3)

talu' chhuy zyus tai pyatthu' chhukh natsaan
vant'u' maali man kyath patsaan chhuy
sooruy sombrith yatii chhuy mwtsaan
vanu' maali man kyath patsaa chhuy

[Beneath is a pit, over it you dance!
Doesn't, O dear, thy mind care?
All that you gather is left here;
How, O Dear, you do endure it?]

Vaakh No. 102

(Kaul-4)

hachivi haaranji petsiv kaan goom
abakh chaan pyoom yath raazdaanee
manzbaag baazras kulfu' ros vaan goom
tirthu' ros paan goom kus maali zaanee[197]

[My wooden bow was left with an arrow of grass
This capital mine got a witless carpenter:
A shop sans lock I'm, in the middle of market
Pilgrimage-less my being doth go, who'd know?]

196 As appearing in the 4TH edition (1993) of Lal Dyad, published by the JKAACL, Srinagar. While Kaul has not always indicated his source for these *vaakhs* in the text, a chart about the arrangement has been added at the end (pages 370-74), detailing the *vaakh* numbers in the book Lal Dyad and the corresponding *vaakhs* in Grierson, Anand Kaul and Wanchuu. This gives a clue to the source of the first 140 vaakhs in Lal Dyad (Kashmiri). A more clear tabulation is in Kaul's Lal Ded (English) published by Sahitya Akademi New Delhi, in 1973, on pages 143-47. The source reference for the *vaakhs* given below are as indicated under the *vaakh* number in these source tables.

197 Diction of the Vaakh is too modern to be true. The vocabulary and usage does not seem to represent Lal's time and tongue.

Vaakh No. 103

(Kaul-14)

haa tsyataa kavu' chhuy logmut par mas
kavu' goy apu'zis pazyuk broont
du'shi boz vash kornakh par darmas
yinu' gatshu'nu' zyanu' marnas kroont

[Drunken on an alien draught you are;
Falsehoods you have taken for sooth!
The foreign creed has you in the thrall:
How trapped you are, in life and death!]

Vaakh No. 104

(Kaul-18)

muuddis gyaanu'ch kath noo va'ny zee
kharas goor dinu' raavii dooh
seki shaatthas fal noo va'vizee
raavu'ryzi nu' kom yaajan tiil[198]

[Tell not a fool of the way of knowledge;
Feeding an ass sugar will cost you the day;
Sow not seeds in the desert sea;
Waste not oil cooking dishes of husk.]

198 cf. Vaakh 166 – four more lines (Kaul)

Vaakh No. 105

(Kaul-19/Anand Kaul-12/Wancho - 150)

da'chhinis obras zaayun zaanu' haa
samudras zaanu' haa ka'ddith atth
ma'ndis roogayas veedyut zaanu' haa
mooddas zaa'nim nu' praa'nith kath

[The clouds, I knew, how to shift,
An ocean I could sail through,
A chronic patient I could cure:
Never could I tool a fool!]

Vaakh No. 106

(Kaul-20/Anand Kaul-72/Wancho- 134)

ttyotth modur tai myuutth zahar
yas yuut tshunukh jastan baav
yemi yath ka'ru'y kal tai kahar
su tath shahar vaa'tith pyav[199]

[Bitter is the sweet (ease) and sweet the bitter (work),
All depends (on) how striving you are;
He who was resolved and strove hard
He did land at the city of his longing.]

199 cf. Nuurnaamu' No 210 (Kaul-)

Vaakh No.107

(Kaul-24/Anand Kaul-18/Wancho- 112)

gwras pru'tshaam saasi latti
yas nu' kenh vanaan tas kyah naav
pru'tshaan pru'tshaan tha'chis tu' luusu's
kenh nas nishi kyah taam draav

[My guru, I asked, a thousand times,
What is the nameless, called by?
Asking and asking, I got sore and worn,
For sure, something came of the try!]

Vaakh No.108

(Kaul- 25/Anand Kaul-75/ Wancho-131)

zanam praa'vith vibav naa tshoonddum
luuban buugan ba'ru'm na prai
somuy aahar syatthah zoonum
tsoolum dwkh daad poolum Dai

[Though born, no beingly glory I sought;
Needs and wonts, my being never caught:
Content with plain fare, a level life remained
Hurt and woe I bore and the God I gained.]

Vaakh No. 109

(Kaul- 26/Anand Kaul-7/Wancho- 6)

aayas ti syoduy gatshu' ti syoduy
syadis hol me karyam kyah
bo tas aa'sus agarai vyoduy
vidis tu' vendas karyam kyah.

[Straight I came, straight shall go
Crooked can't undo the one upright.
I was known to Him since nativity:
Who can harm the known and owned?]

Vaakh No.110

(Kaul- 27/Anand Kaul-25/Wancho- 60)

khyanu' khyan karaan kun noo vaatakh
na khyanu' gatshakh ahankaa'rii
somuy khe maali somuy aasakh
sa'mi khyanu' mutsarnai barnyan taarii.[200]

[Eating-n-eating shall take you nowhere;
Not eating turns you proud and vain
Eat levelly and level you shall remain;
Level life shall open to you doors all.]

200 Kaul (page 90) says that Anand Kaul and Wanchoo add another couplet: *sam yeli samii rum kati roozii/ adu haa vaali roozakh suu ham suu*

Vaakh No.111

(Kaul- 28/Anand Kaul-70/ Wancho-122)

tsaalun chhu vuzmalu' tu' trattai
tsaalun chhu mandinyan gattu'kaar
tsaalun chhu paan panun kaddun grattai
hyatu' maali santoosh vaatii paanai.

[Thunder-n-lightening you must bear,
You must bear with darkness at noon:
Hard travails thy body must share;
Peace, dear, shall come of its own]

Vaakh No.112

(Kaul- 31/Anand Kaul-23/Wancho- 62)

kandyav karakh kandi kandee
kandyav! karakh kandi vilaas
bhuugu'y miitthy ditith yath kandee
ath kandi roozi suur nu' tu' saas.

[O Embodied, this body you crave,
And, therein pridely do stride!
Foods sweet you feed this body,
Yet, its ash nor odour will abide.]

Vaakh No.113

(Kaul- 32/Anand Kaul-23/Wancho- 63)

swmanu' gaarun manz yath kandee
yath kandi dapaan swruup naav
luub muuh tsalii shuub yiyii kandee
yethy kandi tiiz tai soor prakaash

[Behold the embodied one, in the body,
The body that is called the manifest;
Want and desire you'll forsake and shine,
And, thy body will blazen with zest.]

Vaakh No.114

(Kaul- 34/Anand Kaul-69)

Treeshi, bwchhi moo kreeshu'naavun
yaany tshepi taany sandaarun deh
fratth choon daarun tu' paarun
kar vwpu'kaarun swy chhai krai

Kar vwpu'kaarun – vwpu'kaar karun, (doing good to others)

[Make it not cry for food and water,
Attend to it soon as it wanes:
An illusion this thy brooding, penance;
Good aid to all is the real call.]

Vaakh No.115

(Kaul- 42/Anand Kaul-38/Wancho- 168)

rut tu' krut sooruy pazyam
kanan nu' boozun a'chhan nu' baavu'
ooruk dapun yeli vwndu' vuzyam
ru'tu'n diip prazlyam varzu'ni vaavu'

[All things, good and bad, I should,
Shadow from my ears, refuse to see;
When the divine call sounds within,
My lamp will shine, amid raging winds.]

Vaakh No.116

(Kaul- 43/Anand Kaul-38/Wancho- 169)

mandu'chhi haa'nkal kar tshenyam?
yeli hyaddun geelun asun praavu'.
aaruk jaamu' kar sanu' dazyam?
yeli a'ndaru'm khaaryuk roozyam vaaru'

[When shall my shackle of shame snap?
When mocks, jibs and jeers I'll bear!
When shall my cloak of disdain burn?
When the mule within well I rear!]

Vaakh No. 117

(Kaul- 44/Anand Kaul-49/Wancho- 156)

paraan paraan zyav, taal fa'jim
tse yuugy krai ta'jim nu' zaah
sumran firaan nyotth tu' ongu'j ga'jim
manu'ch duyii maali tsa'jim nu' zaah

[My tongue grew sore from chanting,
A fitting devotion I rendered not:
Fingers I wore out telling the beads,
The division within, I sundered not!]

Vaakh No.118

(Kaul- 45/Anand Kaul-6/Wancho- 152)

avyastaa'ry poothyan chhii hoo maali paraan
yithu' tootu' paraan Raam panjras
par par karaan zal dwd mandaan
badyookh timu'nu'yi aham bhaav[201]

201 The last two lines carry an alternate version, too: "Giitaa paraan hiithaa labaan/pa'ru'm Giitaa tu' paraan ch-

'avystsaa'ry' - those who cannot think or read without reflection; *puuthÿ* - the hand written book of prayers, rituals etc.

[The thoughless recite the holy word
Like the parrot, parroting 'Raam' in a cage,
Their chanting is like churning the water:
All they garner is the ego on rampage.]

Vaakh No. 119

(Kaul- 46/Anand Kaul-53/Wancho- 155)

parun swlab paalun dwrlab
sahaz gaarun sikham tu' kruutth
abhyaasu'ki ganirai shaastar motthum
tsiitan aanand nishchai goom

[It is easy to read but hard to practice,
Search for the Truth is a torture pure:
Shaastar I forgot, as abhyaas grew
And, the bliss of soul became sure.]

Vaakh No. 120

(Kaul- 50/Anand Kaul-24/Wancho- 18)

kavu' chhukh divan aninee ba'tsh
trukhai chhukh tu' a'ndu'rii atsh
Shiv chhuy a'ty tai kun moo gatsh
sahaz kathi myaani kar too patsh

Wanchoo No.1 'Anyathaa' — bee faa'yidu', fozuul (Kaul-)

---

has". (Kaul, page 112)

[Why art thou gropping as if blind
If you be sharp, penetrate through;
Shiva is in there, do not ramble;
Believe this my word to be true.]

Vaakh No.121

(Kaul- 54/Anand Kaul-29/Wancho- 21)

kus mari tu' kasuu maaran
mari kas tu' maaran kas –
yus haru' haru' traa'vith garu' garu' karee
adu' su mari tai maaran tas

[Who'll die and who they'll kill?
Who'll die and who they'll kill?
He who leaves Hara, craves for hearth,
He'll die and him they'll kill.]

Vaakh No.122

(Kaul- 55/Anand Kaul-29/Wancho- 25)

gwru' shabdas yus yatsh patsh baree
gyaanu' vagi ratti tsyatu' twrgas
yendree shomrith aanand karee
adu' su mari tai maaran tas

[He who hath faith in the word of guru,
Holds the mindly horse with the rein of ***gyaan***,
And, drawing in the senses, revels in the bliss;
Who'll then die, who can they kill?]

Vaakh No. 123

(Kaul- 57/Anand Kaul-60/Wancho- 195)

grattu' chhu feeraan zeeree zeeree
ohukuy zaani grattuk tshal
grattu' yeli feeri tai zaa'vyul neeree
guu vaati paanai grattu'u bal

[Slowly, steadily, the mill doth move,
The trick is known to the pivot alone;
The mill that moves and grinds fine,
All grain there, itself doth arraign.]

Vaakh No.124

(Kaul- 58/Anand Kaul-40/Wancho- 163)

mithyaa, kapatt, asath troovum
manas korum suy vwpdiish
zanas andar kiival zoonun
anas khyanas kus chhum dveesh

[Lie, deception, error I eschewed,
My mind I gave the lesson true:
This whole creation I kenned as One
Where is the blame in the food I eat.]

Vaakh No. 125

(Kaul- 59/Anand Kaul-39/Wancho- 133)

muuddoo krai chhai nu' dhaarun paarun;
muuddoo krai chhai nu' rachhu'ny kaay;
muuddoo krai chhai nu' diyeh sandaarun:
sahaz vyatsaarun chhuy vwpdeesh.

[Action, O fool, is not ritual observance,
Action, O fool, is not caring for thy being,
Action, O fool, is not preening the body:
The messge is mulling over the Truth.]

Vaakh No.126

(Kaul- 63/Anand Kaul-59)

shishiris vuth kus rattee
kus bwkee rattee vaav
yus paants yendree tselith tsattee
suy rattee gattee rav

[Who'll prevent an icicle from melting?
Who'll capture wind in a handful?
He, who the five senses pummels,
He'll catch the sun at night!]

Vaakh No.127

(Kaul- 65/Anand Kaul-34/Wancho-188)

laz kaasii shiit nivaarii
tru'n zal karii aahaar
yi ka'my vwpdiish kooruy battaa
a'tseetan vattas satseetan dyun aahaar.

[Thy shame it'll cover, the chill banish,
Grass and water is all it'll take;
Who did preach to you, O learned:
Slay the live one at the altar dead!]

Vaakh No. 128

(Kaul- 75/Anand Kaul-36)

loolu'ki vwkhlu' vaa'linj pishu'm
kwkal tsa'jim tu' ruuzu's rasu'
buzu'm tu' zaa'jim paanas tsu'shim
kavu' zaanu' tavu suu'ty maru' kinu' lasu'

[My heart I ground in love's mortar,
Wicked wants vanished, my hold firmed,
Next it, I roasted, smoked and tasted:
I know not, if thereby, I will live or die.]

Vaakh No.129

(Kaul- 82/Anand Kaul-61/Wancho- 194)

Shiv chhuy zaa'vyul zaal vahraa'vith
kranzan manz chhuy taa'rith kyath
zindu'nai vuchhahan adu' kati ma'rith
paanu' manzu' paan kadd vyatsaa'rith kyath

[A slender web Shiva has spread around:
Thence He doth pervade, every blade;
If living you see Him not, how after death?
Ken the embodied: from the body, cleave.]

Vaakh No.130

(Kaul- 87/Anand Kaul-33/Wancho- 186)

Latan hund maaz laaryoom vatan
A'kii haa'vnam akichii vath
Yim yim boozan tim koonu' matan
Lali buuz shatan kunii kath.

[Walking I wore out the flesh of my sole
Oneness, the One showed , was the goal;
Won't they who hear of this be gay,
Lal, in a hundred, saw one way?]

Vaakh No. 131

(Kaul- 117/Anand Kaul-5/Wancho-5)

a'sii aa'sy tu' a'sii aasav
asii door ka'ry patu' vath
Shivas soori nu' zyon tu' marun
Ravas soori nu' atu' gath

[We have been, and we will abide
We have trodden the time's stride:
Shiva won't cease to be born and die,
Nor will the Sun stop the eternal ride!]

Vaakh No.132

(Kaul- 126/Anand Kaul-15/Wancho- 143)

dishi aayas dash dishi tsa'lith
tsa'lith tsoolum shu'ni adu' vaav
Shivu'y ddyuutthum shaayi shaayi miilith
she tu' tre tropymas tu' Shivu'y draav[202]

[Hither I came crossing the directions, ten
Endured the wind and the void, enroute;
Shiva, I saw, there pervading every place:
the six and three secured, I saw His grace.]

202 'six' and 'three' give 36, the number of *tat-tvas*, from *Shiva tat-tva* to *prithvii tat-tva* as kenned by Kashmir Shaivism; 'six' and 'three' added giving nine could also stand for the 9 *dvaars* (gates) of body, which when closed lead to the inner being. (Kaul page 208).

Vaakh No. 133

(Kaul- 127/Anand Kaul -66/Wancho- 136)

Tanu' manu' ga'yas bw tas kunuy
Buuzu'm satu'ch ganttaa vazaan
Tath jaayi dhaarnaayi dhaaran ra'ttu'm
Aakaash tu' prakaash korum sar

[Body and the soul I turned to Him
And heard the ringing of the True bell;
Upon that spot my focus I poised,
Realms and light I crossed through.]

Vaakh No. 134

(Kaul- 132/Anand Kaul-71/Wancho-123)

Tsu'y diiv gartas tu' dhartii srazakh
Tsey diiv ditith kranzan praan
Tsu'y diiv tthani rostuy vazakh
kus zaani Diiv choon pramaan

[Lord! You pervade the land and beings
Lord, You enliven the frames of bone
O, Lord, You echo sans a sound:
Who, O Lord, could ken Your Truth!]

Vaakh No. 135

(Grierson- App8-9/Kaul-140)

a) Lal's husband:

siry yas hyu na prakaash kunee
gangi hyu na tiirath kaanh
baa'yis hyu na baanduu kunee
zani hyuna swkh kaanh

[No light is there like that of the Sun;
No pilgrimage like the one of Gangaa;
There is no friend like a brother;
No comfort is there like the wife.]

Grierson text:

siryas hyuhu' na prakaash kunee
Gangi hyuhu' na tiirath kaanh
baa'yis hyuhu' na baandav kunee
rani hyuhu' na swkh kaanh

b) Syadh Mool (Lal's Guru)

A'chhan hyu nu' prakaash kunee
Kwtthyan hyu nu' tiirth kaahn
Chandas hyu nu' baanduu kunee
Khani hyu nu' swkh kaahn

[There is no light like the eye-sight;
No pilgrimage akin to a walking knee;
There is no friend like a pocket full;
No comfort like a good blanket.]

Grierson text:

a'chhyan hyuhu' na prakaash kunee
kwtthyan hyuhu' na tiiru'th kaanh
chandas hyuhu' na baanduu kunee
khani hyuhu' na swkh kaanh

c) Lal Dyad

maayi hyu na prakaash kunee
layi hyu nu' tiirath kaanh
dayas hyu na baanduu kunee
bayas hyu na swkh kaanh
[There is no light like love;
No pilgrimage like devotion;
No friend like the Lord is there,
There is no comfort like fear.]

Grierson text:

maayi hyuhu' na prakaash kunee
layi hyuhu' na tiirath kaanh
dayes hyuhu' na baanduu kunee
bayes hyuhu' na swkh kaanh

Grierson who copied the above Vaakhs from J H Knowles's *"Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings"* records: "Sed Bayu was one day sitting down with his famous disciple, Lal Dyad, when the following questions cropped up: Which was the greatest of all lights? Which was the most famous of all pilgrimages? Which was the best of all relations? Which was the best of all manners of ease? Lal was the first to reply.... But Sed did not quite agree. 'No', said he....Then Lal Ded, determining not to be outwitted by her master, again replied...(in the sequence of above *vaakhs*)." [203]

203 LV-G, pages 126-27

Folk tradition has it that these three Vaakhs are the outcome of a poetic contest amongst Lal, her husband and her preceptor Sid or Syad Mool, in which the three answered four questions: what is the greatest light, the greatest *tiiratha*, the greatest friend and the greatest comfort? First Lal's husband answered, then her teacher and finally Lal herself. Kaul also records another tradition, which says, that the first answer (Vaakh) was from Baabaa Nasarudiin, the second by Nunda Reshi and the third by Lal Dyad.

The explanation for serial vaakhs by Grierson is pointless, while the tale recounted by Kaul is simply fantastic. It is also notable that if the first Vaakh is by Lal's husband, as traditionally believed, it refutes all the tales of the husband being uncaring of Lal and bespeaks of a live understanding between the two. It tells us of the wondrous quality of the folk tradition to carry mutually contradictory tales with ease and without any need for revising its own presumptions!

We could do better to discard this whole series. Bhaaskaraacharya does not include these in his *vaakhs* of Lalleeshvarii. Greirson's source, the pandit of Gushi, did not include these among the *vaakhs* of Lal Dyad, though they would have been widely known as shown by Knowles' record. Knowles too was told of them as proverbs not the *vaakhs* of Lal.

It is also worth noting that few of the other *vaakhs* taken by Greirson from Knowles can be taken to be genuine vaakhs of Lal with much conviction.[204]

204 See footnote *supra*

PART-II

Doubtful Vaakh

1. Vaakhs have suffered linguistic acclamatisation, i.e. the vaakhs have been drastically modified in the common tongue and are indistinuigshable from the diction of the present-day.
2. Words have been lost and replaced by similar sounding modern words, even whole lines have been put in to make up for the lost lines.
3. Words which would in no case have been there in Lal's diction, have been entere.

VAAKHS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF PUBLICATION BUT SIMILAR SOUNDING ONES HAVE BEEN GROUPED TOGETHER.

Vaakh No. 136

(Grierson-84/Kaul-160)

yi kyah aa'sith yi kyuth rang goom
chang[205] goom tsa'ttith hud-hud[206] nee dagee[207]
saarinu'y padan kunuy vwkhun goom
Lali me traag goom lagu' kami shaatthee

[Oh! What was I and how I fared!
Hoopoe's pick, has cut my throng;
All my sayings in the same rut lie;
I have fallen low, how shall I fare?]

Vaakh No. 137

(Grierson-85/Kaul-161)[208]

yi kyah aa'sith yi kyuth rang goom
beerang ka'rith goom lagi kami shaatthai
taalav raazdaani abakh chhaan pyoom
jaan goom zaanyam paan pananuy

taalav raazdaany - a haughty, class woman. Grierson says the meaning of this word is unknown, or else the word may itself be distorted, leaving it meaningless. While its presence in the vaakh may be doubted, its meaning and usage are in no doubt; it is a common phrase, still in use, meaning a haughty woman.

[Oh! What I was and how I fared!
He left me bland, how shall I cope?
An elite, I got a skill-less mender:
That I was served right, I alone know!]

205 Wancho *'sang'* (Kaul, page 285)
206 This is a pure Arabic name for the hopoo. The Kashmiri word is *satuth*. Arabic word *'hud-hud'* carries Sufi symbolism, which reached Kashmir at least half a century after Lal.
207 *'digee'* Wancho. (Kaul, page 257)
208 Wancho No. 171. (Kaul, page 258)

Vaakh No. 138

(Grierson-89/Kaul-156)[209]

laachaar bichaar pravaad korum
nadur chhuvu' tu' heyiv maa
fiirith dubaaru' jaan kyah vonum
praan tu' rwhan heyiv maa

laachaar bichaar – poor and helpless; *pravaad korum* – shouted; *nadur* – lotus stalk; (*na dor* – not very strong, weak)

[Helpless, forsaken, I called out:
Lotus-stalks I've, will you buy?
(No firmness there, do not buy!)
How well did I say on return:
Garlic and onion, will thou buy?
(Spirit and soul, won't you tend?)][210]

Vaakh No. 139

(Grierson-90/Kaul-157)

praan tu' rwhan kunuy zoonum
praan ba'zith labii nu' saad
praan ba'zith keenh ti naa khezee
tavai lobum suuham saad

praan tu' rwhan – onion and garlic. The differentiation of *praan* (as body) and *rwhan* (as *ruh*, soul) is not correct. Both words stand for the general 'soul'.

[Spirit and soul, one did I ken
(Onion and garlic, alike I kenned)
No taste you'll get, craving the cage
(With onion roasted, no taste is got)
Never give yourself unto the body
(Never eat anything, cooked with onion)
That is how, the true taste I got]

209 This and the following *vaakhs* (Nos 89 and 90 of Grierson) are somewhat different from the two like *vaakhs* given in Wancho's collection (Nos. 52 and 53). Kaul had entered them separately (U/Nos 198 and 199, (Kaul, page 254). They have been put together to illustrate the interpolations and that the kernel there has got much polluted. Incidentally, the play on the word *nadur/na dor*, which the modern interpreters are so taken with, is not semantically exact. The word for 'not firm' is *na dor* not *nadur*.

210 The lines 2 and 4 can have alternate readings with the same wordiage, taking the last '*maa*' as negative (*ma' hyayiv* – don't buy and *nadur* as *na dor*). These are given in italics, within brackets. The same can be read for vaakh 140 141, too.

Vaakh No. 140

(Kaul-198/Wancho)

aanchaar haa'nzu'ni hund goom kanan
nadur chhuvu' tu' heyiv maa
ti buuz trukyav tim ruudy vanan
tseenun chhuvu' tu' tsiiniv maa

[I heard the green grocress from Aanchaar:
The world is unfirm, buy it not!
The sound ones heard that, to jungles fled,
That is to be kenned: will you listen?]

Vaakh No. 141

(Kaul-199/Wancho)

aanchaa'ry bichaa'ry vyatsaar vonun[211]
praan tu' rwhan heyiv maa
praanas ba'zith mazaa tsuhun
nadur chhuvu' tu' heyiv maa

[The simple one, a thought uttered:
'Onion and garlic here: will you buy?
(Spirit and soul, buy it not.)
Fry the onion, try its taste!
(spirit stringed, needs be tested)
Lotus stalks here: will you buy?
(Unsteady it is, buy it not.)]

211 cf. Kooshur Samaachaar No. 143;

Vaakh No. 142

(Grierson-101/Kaul-141)[212]

dehichi lari daari bar troprim
praanu' tsuur rottum tu' dyutmasdam hridiyichi kuutthri andar gonddum
Oomu'ki choobu'ki tulmas bam

[Doors of the body, all I sealed
The praana-theif, I did trap within
It, in my hridai-cell, I firmly caught
With the whip of Om I hammered it hard.]

Vaakh No. 143

(Grierson App. I/Kaul-144)[213]

nafu'su'y myoon chhuy hostuy
a'my hasty mongnam gari gari bal
lachhi manzu' saasu' manzu' akhaa lostuy
natu' hyatynam saa'rii tal

[This self mine is an elephant wild,
Ever for food, this elephant, doth crave:
One in a hundred, nay a thousand, lives,
And the rest are trampled under.]

212 Kaul's reference (page 232) is Koshur Samaachaar, Lal Dyad Special Number, page 12. The correct page number is 10
213 Wancho No. 120, Kaul, page 234

Vaakh No. 144

(Grierson Appendix I/Kaul-150)

keentsan ditytham gulaalu' ya'tsu'y
keentsan zoonuth nu' dinas vaar
keentsan tshu'nytham naa'ly brahmu'heetsu'y
bhagvaanu' chaani ga'ts namaskaar

[Some You've granted sons galore;
Some, You've felt no need to adore;
Some You accused of Brahmin-kill:
Lord! I salute Thy wondrous skill!]

Vaakh No. 145

(Grierson Appendix-I/Kaul-162)[214]

diluk kha'ru' kha'ru' me maali kaastam manu'ki kootar maree
nari loosam luku'hu'nzu' lari ladaan
teli paanu' myaanyoo ka'ddith ninai panani garee
patu' patu' neeri luku' saasaa nari aalu'vaan
traa'vith yinai manz maa'daanas saa'vith da'chhni laree

[Cure My heart's flutter, O dear, from within the mind;
My arms I tired out, raising houses for others,
Oh my body, out they'd take, thee from thine home,
With a thousand fellows, mourning, in thy wake,
And leave thee curled up, on thy right, in the plain wide!]

214 Knowles' Kashmiri Proverbs 57 (LV-G, page124)

Vaakh No. 146

(Kaul-143/Anand Kaul-35)[215]

lyaku' tu' thwku' pyatth sheeri hyatsam
nyandaa sapu'nim path broontth taany
Lal chhas kal zaanh noo tshenim
aduy yeli sapnis vepihee kyah

[Abuses, spits on forehead I took
Curses back and forth did brook:
Lal I am, my leaning won't rend
To Oneness clung, with a firm bend!]

Vaakh No. 147

(Kaul-145/Anand Kaul-13)[216]

damu' damu' Omkaar man paru'noovum
paanai paraan tu' paanai boozaan
suuham padas aham goolum
teli Lal bu' vaa'tsu's prakaashthaan

[By and by, I taught my mind 'Om'
Reading myself, to my self did preach;
The ego I wore out chanting *suuham*,
Then, the abode of light, did reach.]

215 Kaul, page 234
216 Kaul, page 236

Vaakh No. 148

(Kaul-146)

looluk naar Lali lwli lalu'noovum
maranai mwyas tu' ruuzu's nu' zarai
rangu' ratshi zaatasu'y kyah nu' rang hoovum
boodpun tsoolum kyaa sanu' karai[217]

[Love's fires, in my lap, I lulled
Deathless I died and nothing did bear;
How, for the play-prone, did I play!
I-ness I forsook, what else was there!]

Vaakh No. 149

(Kaul-147/Anand Kaul-37)[218]

raavnu' manzai raavun roovum
raa'vith athi aayas bavu'sarai
asaan gindaan sahu'zu'y proovum
dapu'nuy korum paanas sarai

[The loss I lost in the losing
Lost, myself in the lake I found,
Laughing and lolling to Truth came round:
My self to all that was said, I bound.]

217 Kaul, page 236
218 Kaul, page 238

Vaakh No. 150

(Kaul-148/Anand Kaul-14)

da'mii ddyuutthum shabnam pyavaan
da'mii ddyuutthum pyavaan suur
da'mii ddiitthu'm anigattu' raatas
da'mii dyuutthum dohas nuur

[One instant and the dew was falling;
One instant and it was spilling ash;
One instant and it was night, all dark;
One instant and it was the day, all alight.]

Vaakh No. 151

(Kaul-149/Anand Kaul-14)[219]

da'mii aa'su's lwku'tt kuurah
da'mii aa'su's javaanah puur
da'mii aa'su's feeran thooraan
da'mii sapnis da'zith suur

[One instant and I was a small lass;
One instant and I was a bubling youth;
One instant I was frolicking all around;
One instant and I was burnt to sheer ash.]

219 Kaul (page 240) adds: These two *vaakhs* (Kaul 148, 149, here 150, 151) appear in *Shivu' Parnai* of Krishan Raazdaan

Vaakh No. 152

(Kaul-153/Anand Kaul-3)

andar aa'sith nyabar tshoonddum[220]
pavnan ragan ka'rnam sath
dhyaanu' kiny zagi kiival zoonum
rang goov sangas miilith kyath

[Inside I was, but I searched outside
Through my veins, the ether did wade;
On world I meditated, the void kenned
The drama got merged with the real.]

Vaakh No. 153

(Kaul-154/Anand Kaul-15)[221]

swn draav vahni tu' mal gwv va'tith
yeli me analaahi dyutmas taav
katur zan ga'yas loolu' vyaglith
yeli katthu'kosh tsol nishi rav draav
Lal bu' ruuzu's teli shihlith
yeli tsyatas pyov boo tas naav

[The gold was fired, the dirt burned out
When I heated it with the word Om;
Like the ice, I did melt with love,
When frost is gone and the sun shines out:
I, Lal, became serene and cool
When I learnt that I am His name[222].]

220 *andar a'tsith nyabar tshoonddum*, Anand Kaul (Kaul, page 246)
221 Kaul, page 248
222 "... I am He"

Vaakh No. 154

(Kaul-155)

sat sangu' pavitu'r doorum
navi sa'ts ruuzu's troprith bar
dashi dashmii dvaar praznoovum
eekaadashi tsa'ndramas ka'ru'm lai
dvaadashimanddalu' dyakh shomroovum
tryodashi trabiinii naa'vu'm kaay
tsotur dashi tswdah bhavan shamaa'vim
puurnu' paa'ntsu'dashi tsa'ndran korum dwdai
okdoh bhuugii paan sandoorum
rasu' tu' ruuzu's kalpan traa'vith
suy haa maali ka'ru'm pwtalyan puuz[223]

[In company of the true I got purified;
The ninth day I spent, with doors shut,
On the tenth day the gate I gained,
The moon I propitiated on the eleventh,
On twelfth I trammelled, the body mine,
On thirteenth, my body in *Triveenii* gleaned
On fourteenth, the fourteen houses I doused
On fifteenth, the full moon did I hie
On the first day, the lusting body I preened,
With desires stilled, I lay in wait,
That, O dear one, was worship mine.]

223 This is not a Vaakh of Lal Dyad. (Kaul, Page 252)

Vaakh No. 155

(Kaul-163/Anand Kaul[224])

aagarai grozum[225]
vugu' vaanee dduur sogum
ooru'ki krapaayi zagath vuzum
yooru' ti keenh me sorum noo

[From nativity itself, I did roar
My flower-bed, I watered from the font;
The world erupted of bliss divine,
Nothing did I, from myself, add there.]

Vaakh No. 156

(Kaul-164/Anand Kaul-2)[226]

aaguruy rattakh saar saari tturakh
adu' kavu' muuddoo fattakh zaah

[If the source you catch, gropping you can go:
That way, O fool, you'll never drown.]

Vaakh No. 157

(Kaul-165/Anand Kaul)

aa'ras neeri na modur shiirai
nirviiras neeri na shuur naav
murkhas pranun chhuy ha'sytis kashun
yas hoo maali daandas beh tsaav

nir viir - one bereft of bravery; *shuur* - brave

224 34 Vaakhs (Kaul 163 to 196) taken from Anand Kaul's *Lalu' Yoogeeshvarii* (Kaul page 259). They have been sourced, accordingly.
225 Listed as No. 18, *Rhasi updeesh* of Roop Bhavaanii, (Kaul, page 259).
226 This is not a vaakh but a proverb. J.L .Kaul, page 259

[The sour-plum will not yield sweet juice;
The coward for bravery won't be known:
Teaching the idiot is scratching the elephant;
Clueless goes the bull as saw no yoke.]

Vaakh No. 158

(Kaul-166/Anand Kaul)

babri langas mushuk noo mooree
huuny basti koofuur malnu' kyah neeree
manu' yod gvaarhan feerii zeeree[227]
natu' shaalu' ttungee neerii kyah

[No twig aromatic would lose its scent,
camphoring a dog-hide brings no gain;
With mind if you seek, by a flick it'll move;
Barking like a jackal, nothing can attain.]

Vaakh No. 159

(Kaul-167/Anand Kaul- 64)

swyi kul noo dwdu' suu'ty sa'gyzee
sa'rypini tthuulan dizi noo fah
yus yuth karii su tyuth swrii
kreeree ka'ryzi nu' panun paan[228]

[Water not the nettle with milk;
Hatch not the eggs of a serpent;
One'll reap, what one has sown:
Pray don't waste thy self there.]

227 cf. Nuurnaamu' No. 251: "*man bwdi gaarihan adu' noo sooree*" (Kaul, page 260)
228 cf. Parimo *vaakh* No. 9, where 8 lines are given, these 4 and other four recorded as vaakh ... ***muuddas gyaanu'ch*** *kath....*

Vaakh No. 160

(Kaul-168/Anand Kaul)[229]

azapaa gaayitrii hamsu' hamsu' za'pith
aham traa'vith adu' suy ratth
yemy troov aham suy ruud paanai
boo nu' áasun chhuy vwpdeesh.

[Chanting 'I am He', the voiceless *Gaayitrii*
Forsaking ego, to Him do cleave;
He who forsook ego, his self retained:
The lesson to be attained is 'I am not'.]

Vaakh No. 161

(Kaul-169/Anand Kaul- 17)

gwras maa'l pyov aamyan naattan
beyan pa'shan swvaad kyah aasee
yi haal gwras tu' raah kyah tsaattan
bramu' kulis[230]myavu' kyah peyee

[The teacher for raw meat doth yearn
Wishing to taste the other animals:
If such be the tutor, why blame the taught;
The nettle tree hast, no fruit, ever wrought!]

229 Kaul, page 262
230 Kaul, (page 262) supplants *"Brahmu' kulis"*, of Anand Kaul with *"Bramu'kul"*, or *"brimij"* the fruitless grave-yard tree.

Vaakh No. 162

(Kaul-170/Anand Kaul)[231]

kaa'ly sath kwl gatshan paataa'lii
akaa'ly zalu' malu' varshan pyan
maamas ttaa'ky[232] tai masu' kii pyaalii
brahman tu' tsraa'ly yikvattu' khyan[233]

[The day after, the true clans shall sink
The mortals born and bred shall fall;
Meat, by plate-full's, wine by cups,
Together, the learned and lay'll eat all.]

Vaakh No. 163

(Kaul-171/Anand Kaul-)

kamsan nendri tai kamsan vudii
kamsan nish bwd bavan
kamsan loolu' naaru' da'dii
kamsan saas tai kamsan swn
kamsan broontth muudii
Tim aa'sy saas tai sapnii swn

[Who are asleep and who awake?
Whence is the wisdom dealt?
Who are scorched with love's fires?
Who are of bronze and who of the gold?
Those who died before their death
They were of bronze but turned gold.]

231 Kaul, page 263
232 "*ttaku'nai*" - Lalu' Aarifaa, page 27 (Kaul, page 263)
233 *Kalaami Lalu' Aarifa* (page 27) and Wancho No. 67, carry an additional couplet: *maa'j luu maali kari koori draa'lii/ zanamu' nishu' saarii va'sith pyan* - The mother'll be, daughter's procuress / All shall lose their birth and rank. (Kaul, page 263)

Vaakh No. 164

(Kaul-172/Anand Kaul-)

kus bab tu' kwsoo maa'jii
kamii laa'jii baa'jii batth
kaa'ly gatshakh, koo nah na bab, koonah nu' maa'jii
zaa'nith kavu' laa'jith baa'ji batth

[Who is the father, who the mother;
Who did play a mate to thee?
Once dead there's no mother no father;
Knowingly why do you play the dumb?]

Vaakh No. 165

(Kaul-173/Anand Kaul-)[234]

Lal boo draayas dooree dooree
kuluf tha'vith vachhas
yus non neeree su fott kreeree
khyon diitoon yachhas

kruur - ditch; *yachh* - legendry cannibals

[Lal, I roamed far and wide,
With my breast locked tight:
He who was known, drowned in a ditch;
You may feed him to the cannibals.]

234 Kaul, page 264

Vaakh No. 166

(Kaul-174/Anand Kaul)[235]

kus hoo maali luusuy nu' pakaan pakaan
kus hoo maali luusuy nu' vwlgaan sameeroo
kus hoo maali luusuy nu' maraan tu' zyavaan
kus hoo maali luusuy nu' karaan nindaa

[Who did not tire walking-n-walking?
Who didn't cease, crossing the Sumeer?
Who wasn't worn dying and being born?
Who didn't sever cursing forever?]

Vaakh No. 167

(Kaul-175/Anand Kaul)[236]

zal hoo maali luusuy nu' pakaan pakaan
Siryi luusuy nu' vwlgaan sumeer
tsa'ndramu' luusuy nu' maraan tu' zyavaan
manush luusuy nu' karaan nindaa

[Water, O dear, didn't tire of walking;
The sun didn't cease, crossing Sumeer;
The Moon didn't erode, waxing and waning;
The man didn't sever cursing forever.]

235 Kaul, page 265
236 Kaul, page 265

Vaakh No. 168

(Kaul-176/Anand Kaul)[237]

Lali gwr brahmaanddu'[238] pyatth kun vuchhum
shashi kal va'tshu'm paadan taam
gyaanu'ki amryatu' prakrat ba'ru'm
luubhu'y moorum andu'vand taam

[Lal, I saw the guru atop the Brahmaandd
And, the nectar flowed down to my base;
My being I filled with ambrosia of learning
Lust I stilled through and through.]

Vaakh No. 169

(Kaul-177/Anand Kaul)[239]

Lali me dopukh luuku' haanddkaru'ny
tavai tsolum mani sheenkh
maagh noovum aag tsoolum
krahnyal koosum mani sheenkh

luuku' haandd karu'ny – to talk aloud in public; *krahnyal – krahnyaar,* blackish hue.

[They told me: Lal, talk to people!
Thereby my doubts I did dispel;
Chill, I did bear, and the heat too,
The darkness of mind did expell.]

237 Kaul, page 266
238 Brahmu' randar (Kaul, Page 266)
239 Kaul, Page 266

Vaakh No. 170

(Kaul-178/Anand Kaul)

ma'ndis didur tai didris sa'krai
sa'krai karakh marak nu' zanh
sa'krai traa'vith karakh kwkrai
va'kru'y gatshii balakh nu' zanh[240]

didur – rot, disease; *mand* – weak; *sa'krai* – good actions; *kwkrai* – evil acts; *va'krai* – deformed

[The weak grow sick, the sick need care,
Act well and never shall you die;
Forsaking good, if to the evil you hie,
Deformed, you'll be, but cured never.]

Vaakh No. 171

(Kaul-179/Anand Kaul)

muuddas pranun chhuy mooyi vaal tsiidun
muuddas pranun chhuy muri dyun koh
muuddas pranun chhuy samadar puurun
muuddas pranaan raavi dwh

mooyi vaal tsiidun – to drill a bore into a hair. *Mooyi* is Persian for *vaal* or hair. The expression common now would not have been in the vocabulary in Lal's age mur – a crack

[Teaching a fool is drilling a hair,
Closing a crack with a mountain;
Teaching a fool is filling an ocean;
Teaching a fool is a sheer wastage.]

240 Nuurnaamu' No. 78: Wancho No. 132 (Kaul, page 267)

Vaakh No. 172

(Kaul-180/Anand Kaul-)

na pyaayas tu' na zaayas
na kheyam hand tu' na shoontth
shyan chhas patu' tai
satan chhas broontth

hand (dandilion) and *shoontth* (ginger) are deemed restorative for woman after delivery.

[I was not born, and none did bear
Neither hand nor shoontth did chew;
The six evils, I do chase nigh,
And stand ahead of the True.]

Vaakh No. 173

(Kaul-181/Anand Kaul-)

naath bo noo raa'nii mangai
me raavanun raaj karyam kyah
yi goom liikhith ti maa haryam
haryam haryam tu' haryam kyah[241]

[Master I crave not for the queen-hood;
What use is Raavana's rule to me?
What I am destined, can I debunk?
Debunk! Debunk! How much of junk!]

241 This is a stanza of a *vatsun* by Lachh Kaak'. (Kaul, Page 268)

Vaakh No. 174

(Kaul-182/Anand Kaul)

Oomuy aadi tai Oomuy sorum
Oomai thurum panun paan
anity traa'vith nityai boosum
tavai proovum paramasthaan

[OM is the beginning and OM I kenned
Of OM this my being I carved;
Finite I forsook, the infinite followed.
And thus, the pinnacle, I did reach.]

Vaakh No. 175

(Kaul-183/Anand Kaul)

Oomuy akuy akshar[242] porum
suy maali rottum vwndis manz
suy maali kani pyatth[243] gorum tu' tsorum
aa'su's saas tu' sapnis swn

[The single syllable OM, I studied
And steadied it in my heart;
It, on a stone, I carved, careened:
Thus I turned my brass into gold.]

---

242 *"achhur"* alphabet/syllable: Wancho No. 101 (Kaul)
243 *"lot paa'tthy"* quietly: Jalaalii No. 38 (Kaul, page 269)

Vaakh No. 176

(Kaul-184/Anand Kaul)

ooru' ti paanai yooru' ti paanai
patai vaanai roozi nu' zaanh[244]
paanai gupith paanai gyaa'nii
paanai paanas muud nu' zaanh

[Thou dost sit on this side and that,
Nothing besides Thou dost remain;
Thou are the veiled, Thou the knowing:
A being unto itself never doth die.]

Vaakh No. 177

(Kaul-185/Anand Kaul)

ooru' ti paanai yooru' ti paanai
paanai paanas chhunu' meelaan
pratham atsyas nu' muleehi daa'nii
suy haa maali chhu aashachar zaan[245]

[Thou do sit on this side and that;
Thou thee thyself do not meet;
Firstly, not a speck there would fit;
That, O dear one is the wonder!]

244 Wancho: *"pot vaanee roozi nu kaanh"* (Kaul, Page 270)
245 Wancho "suy haa maali tsu' aashachar zaan" (Kaul, Page 270)

Vaakh No. 178

(Kaul-186/Anand Kaul)

pa'rith tu' buuzith brahman tshyattan
aagar gattan tihindi veeda suu'ty
Pattu'nu'ch san nith thavaan Mattan[246]
muuhat mas gatshyakh ahankaa'rii

[They read and hear, yet Brahmins are soiled
The fonts'll dry up with their knowing:
The loot from Pattan they leave at Mattan.
Their minds deluded, only ego doth show!]

Vaakh No. 179

(Kaul-200/Wancho)

Pattu'nu'ch san dith thaa'vu'n Mattan
luuby bochhy boolan gyaanu'ky giit[247]
fa'tty fa'tty neeran tim kati vattan
trukai maali chhukh puu'ry kadd path[248]

puu'ry kadd path – your feet retreat, step back

[The loot of Pattan, he left at Mattan,
The covetous and ravenous, of wisdom sing:
They will be exposed, what'll they reap:
If you be clever, step back, dear!]

246 Pattan and Mattan are two well-known towns, the former towards North Kashmir, midway between Srinagar and Barahmula, and the latter in South Kashmir, near Anantnag.
247 *Giit*, a Hindi word, is a sure give away here! So is *boolaan* from Hindi *boolnaa*!
248 cf. Parimo No. 88

Vaakh No. 180

(Kaul-187/Anand Kaul)

samsaar hoo maali yaariv jangul
laarii kyalam tu' beyi bad booy
garu' karun hoo maali pyatth pyon sangur
neerakh nangur tu' daroog gooy[249]

[This world, O dear, is a forest of pines -
The resin doth stick and you smell foul;
Domesticity is getting socked with a rock
You get scorched and turn a hypocrite.]

Vaakh No. 181

(Kaul-188/Anand Kaul)

tyambu'r peyas kavu' noo tsaa'ju'n
mas ras kavu' ohnaajan[250] goos
shaantyan hu'nz krai tulu'mwlu'[251] vaa'jin
a'ndirim gah yeli nyabar pyoos

[A spark hit him, why didn't he bear
The good food and drink, him did jade:
Acts of the contented to Tulu'mul he took;
When his inner light out did peep.]

249 *daroog gooy* - teller of lies - is a pure Persian phrase, so is *booyi bad*, the foul smell.
250 Parimo reads it *'Mansuuras'* the famous Sufi of Persia
251 Famous shrine of Kshiir Bhavaanii, near Gaandarbal.

Vaakh No. 182

(Kaul-189/Anand Kaul)

tim chhinu' manush tim chhii ryashy
yiman diih manu' nishi gwv
ba'ddith tu' buddith byaakh kyah rachhii
futymu'tis bäanas peyii gyav

[They aren't men, but saints sure,
Who of the body lost all thought:
Having grown old, who'd care for thee:
Ghee would seep out from a cracked pot.]

Vaakh No. 183

(Kaul-190/Anand Kaul)

yeti boo ga'yas tati ool su
tati ddyuutthum mool su
kanan tshu'nith vool su
su tai su, su tai su

[Where ever I went, He nested there;
Everywhere Him, as the father, I saw;
Wearing ear-rings, in His ears, I saw:
Him I saw, Him alone I saw.]

Vaakh No. 184

(Kaul-191/Anand Kaul)

chhas keenha natu' aa'su's kehna nai
keenha nas keenha natu' keenha goom ta'rith kyath
Shiv puuzuum vuchhum Naaraan
keenha nas keenha natu' keenha goom ta'rith kyath

[Nothing I was, and nothing I am:
Nothingness, sure, something did mean;
Shiva I worshipped, and Naaraan found
Nothingness, Lo!, something did yield.]

Vaakh No. 185

(Kaul-192/Anand Kaul)

chhu kunee chhu naa kunee[252]
vuchhum ooru' yoor naa kunee
dayi fal tai mwl naa kunee
tsu'y tseentoo gaarun naa kunee

[He is and yet, He is nowhere,
I searched everywhere, found nowhere;
Fruits are there, but the truth nowhere
Ken that it ain't sought out there.]

252 This is a minor variant of Roop Bhavaani's Vaakh included in "Roop Bhavaani Rhasyoopadeesh (T N Ganjoo) under No. 86, where the last two lines are: *dii fal teelee muul na kunee/ chhivai tsutan tu' [illegible]rytoon kunee*

Vaakh No. 186

(Kaul-193/Anand Kaul)

sahnu'ki salilu' yodvai mal kaasakh
aasakh aa'nu' khootu' prazalvun shiinu' khootu' pron
paanai marakh paanai lasakh
laagakh on zor kol tai ron
Shivas suu'tyan yeli kathan rasakh
Shivai chhuk paanai thav paratshun

ron – limbless; *kathan rasakh* – get deep into conversation

[With fluid bearing, thy dirt if you remove,
A mirror you'll outshine, whiter than snow;
In thyself you'll die, in the self live,
If you act deaf, dumb, blind and cripple;
When the discourse to Shiva you take,
You become Shiva and cease to enquire!]

Vaakh No. 187

(Kaul- 56/Anand Kaul-16/Wancho-114)

Shiv chhuy thali thali roozaan
moo zaan Hyond tai Musalmaan
truk ai chhukh tu' paan prazu'naav
swy chai saahibas zaani zaan.[253]

[Every where doth Shiva abide,
Think not as a Hindu or Muslim;
If thou be sharp, know thy being:
That is the knowledge, God-seeing.]

253 This vaakh has been left out by Jayalal Kaul in his English version of Lal Dyad, published by Sahitya Academy. The words Hyond, Musalmaan were not in use in Lal's time. 'Batta' the short of 'Bhattaarak' – the respected one – was the word for Hindu in Kashmir. That is how the Raajataranginiis of Kalhan Pandit and Joonaraaja refer to the Hindus of Kashmir, even in the Hindu era. That is how it still is. Shriivara, writing more than a century after Lal, uses '*mausala*' not Musalmaan, for a Muslim.

Vaakh No.188

(Kaul- 47/Anand Kaul-52/Wancho- 153)

parun poolum apuruy porum
keesar vanu' voolum ra'ttith shaal
pa'ris prunum tu' paanas poolum
adu' goom mooluum[254] tu' ziinim haal

[The read I practiced, the un-read recited,
The lion I roped down like a jackal;
I taught others, myself practised:
Thence I knew and garnered gain.]

Vaakh No.189

(Sopori - II: 46)

ham ham karaan gonddum tu' moorum
keesar vaanu' voolum tsa'ttith naar
yeli hoo maali kaam, kruud, luub, moh goolum
yeli hoo maali la'bu'm and maa'daan haal

[Panting I bound it, slayed it through,
Lion from the forest I brought braving fire;
When lust, greed, anger and conceit I erased:
The ball, O dear, I found at end of the plain.]

254 'mooluum' is an Persian word unlikely to have been in Lal's diction; *'haal'* is a *suufii* term, denoting one of the stages in *tariiqat*. Both are clear indications of interpolation. This or variations of first two lines are very frequent in all collections. At the very least, the *vaakh* has seen too much interpolation.

Vaakh No. 190

(Kaul- 125/Anand Kaul-54/Wancho- 175)

rangas manz chhuy byon byon labun
sooruy tsaalakh barakh swkh
tsakh ru'sh tu' veer gaalakh
adu' ddeeshakh Shivu' sund mwkh[255]

[In drama there are different roles
To succeed you must play them all;
Wear out hate, jealousy and contrite,
If Shiva's face you wish to sight.]

Vaakh No.191

(Kaul- 103/Anand Kaul-63/Wancho- 193)

shunihuk maa'daan kodum paanas
me Lali ruuzu'm nu' bwd na hoosh
vezu'y sapu'nis paanai paanas
adu' kami gili fol Lali pampoosh[256]

[The plains of the void did I traverse,
Neither wisdom nor sense did retain;
Then I came to ken my being,
Behold! How Lal then flowered!]

---

255 The diction of the *vaakh* is a red herring, a huge one at that.

256 Other versions given: *Adu' kyaa me Lali fol hali pampoosh* and *adu' kami hili fol Lali pampoosh* (Parimoo) (Kaul, Page 182). *'gili'* derived from Persian *'gil'* meaning 'mud' could not be a word in Lal's vocabulary. Persian was to enter Kashmir a hundred years later during Zainul-Aabdiin's rule. Lal lived most of her life under Hindu rule; Muslim rule came towards the fag end of her life, and Islamic culture and persain language decades later in the century following. The same goes for *'maa'daan'* derived from Persian *'maidaan'* – 'a flat field' (*Feeroozul Lugaat*).

Vaakh No. 192

(Kaul-194/Anand Kaul)

shayi aa'su's shayi chhas
Lal boo paanai paanas chhas
niirith gatshaan tiilith yivaan
miilith paanu' dayii chhas

[I was firm and firm I am[257]
Lal I am, true to my own self:
Out I go and around do grope
Conjoined with all, I am the Lord.]

Vaakh No. 193

(Kaul-195/Anand Kaul)

Shiv Shiv karaan Shiv naa tooshee
gyav kandi zalakh manas su aasee
gyav div diihas diih dor aasee
gyav nai diihas dikh di var kaa'nsee

[Shiva is not pleased by chanting 'Shiva'
Mind ain't eased by buttering the body:
Feeding only makes the body strong
If the food be worth, feed someone else.]

257 An alternate meaning of this line is: *I sat aside, and aside still lie*

Vaakh No. 194

(Kaul-196/Anand Kaul)

vuchhaan tu' boo chhas saa'rysu'y andar
vuchhum prazlaan saa'rysu'y manz
buuzith tu' ruuzith vuchh Haras
garu' chhuy tasunduy boo kwsu' Lal

[I looked and saw I was everywhere
My own self I saw shining withal;
Heard this, stood, and looked at Hara
His is this whole house, who's Lal!]

Vaakh No. 195

(Kaul-197/Wancho)[258]

a'su's kunii tu' sapnis syatthah
nazdiik aa'sith ga'yas duur
andar nyabar kunuy ddyuutthum
gaa'm khyath chath tsuvanzah tsuur

[One I was and many became;
I was near and ventured far;
Inside and out, Him alone I saw:
The fifty and four have looted my core.]

258 The source for vaakhs Kaul 197-217 is 'Vaakh Laaleeshvarii' of P.A.K. Wancho (Kaul, pages 277, 312)

Vaakh No. 196

(Grierson-91/Kaul-158)

Syad maali syadoo syadu'kathan kan thaav
tsu' dwh path kaali saran kyah
baalu'koo! tuhy kyathoo dyan raath ba'riv
kaal aav kutthaan tu' ka'riv kyah

[Heed O simpleton, the words straight:
Why are you caught in time's wrap?
O ye boys, how the days you'll pass:
The time has soured, what'll you do?]

Vaakh No. 197

(Grierson-92/Kaul-159)[259]

broontth kaa'ly aasan tithii keeran
ttang tsuuntthy papan tseeran suu'ty
maaji koori athvaas ka'rith neeran
dwh dyan baran pardyan suu'ty

[The future'll bring a twang its own,
Apples-n-pears with apricots will ripen:
Mothers-n-daughters, shall leave in tow,
And spend the day with'em they won't know.]

259 cf. Nuurnaamu' No. 242; (Kaul, page 256)

Vaakh No. 198

(Kaul-201)

samsaar noom taa'v ta'tsu'y
muuddan kitsu'y taavanu' aay
gyaanu' mudraa chhi gyaanyan kitsu'y
sw yuugu' kalu'kiny prazanu' aay

[The world here is a hot-plate,
Heated up for the fools around:
Wisdom is for the wise ones
Known by their innate urge!]

Vaakh No. 199

(Kaul-202)

sabuur chhuy zyur, maru'ts tu' nuunuy
khyanu' chhuy ttyotth tu' kheyas kus
sabuur haa maali chhuy sonu' sund duuru'y
mwlu' chhuy thod tu' heyas kus

sabuur – Persian *sabar*, patience

[Patience is spice, pepper and salt:
Bitter to taste; who it shall eat?
Patience, O dear, is an ear-ring of gold:
Very precious and who'll buy?]

Vaakh No. 200

(Kaul-203)

swrgu' jaamu' traa'vith alakh proovum
dag lalu'naa'vu'm dayi su'nzi prayee
pot zooni mot vuzanoovum
tseen tu' maali kulis pyatth nendu'r peyee

[Heavenly robes I cast off, took Shiva's call
Pain I did endure in the wake of the Lord;
The Being I awoke in the last watch of moon:
Behold, O dear, you are asleep up in a tree!]

Vaakh No. 201

(Kaul-205/Wancho)

samsaaras manz baag kath shaayi roozee
roozi paramu' Shiv Shambuu aguur
lwli manz baag bu' lalu'naavan
jigras manz baag karas guuru' guur

[Where would in this world bide
Shiva, the easeful, the primal Being?
In my lap, Him I shall cradle,
Rock Him in the core of heart!]

Vaakh No. 202

(Kaul-206/Wancho)

dood kyah zaani yas no banee
gamu'ky jaamu' haa va'lith tanee
garu' garu' fiiru's peyam kanee
ddyuutthum nu' kaanh panani kanee

[Would the pangless know of acke.
His body covered in cozy robes?
I went to all and was struck with stones,
None, I found, as would side with me.]

Vaakh No. 203

(Kaul-207/Wancho)

shahni hund shikaar gaa'ntth kavu' zaani
haa'ntth kavu' zaani pwtru' dood
shamu'huk sooz la'sh kavu' zaani
ma'chh kavu' zaani paa'npu'ry gath

[No kite can ken an eagle's hunt;
Or a barren one know motherly woe;
A taper, knows not the ache of a candle,
Nor a fly the urge of a moth to dance.]

Vaakh No. 204

(Kaul-208/Wancho)

haha nishi haa draav shah kyah gwv
hahas tu' haahas shah tsu' zaan
ruuhu' nishi mor draav kyah vuchhuy
kyah ruud baaku'y kyah gwv faan

[Inhale-exhale; do the breath rale?
The two together, the breath, do avail.
Split from spirit, aside the body is cast:
What did abide, and tell, what was lost?]

Vaakh No. 205

(Kaul-209/Wancho)

la'r la'zu'm manz maa'ddaanas
a'ndy a'ndy ka'rymas tukayi tu' gah
su roozi yeti tai bu' gatshu' paanas
voony gwv vaanas faalav dith

[A house I built amid the plain,
Lights and lounges around it laid:
Here it'll stay, away I'd hop:
The keeper hast quit, shutting the shop.]

Vaakh No. 206

(Kaul-210/Wancho)

Oomuy chhu vwthpath Oomuy chhu swrun
Oomuy chhu vwpdiish param zaan
Oomuy parun oomuy swrun
Oomu'su'y suu'ty chhai zaa'nii zaan

vwthpath - utpati, origin, creation

[OM is the origin, Om is the living
Om is the insight, the knowledge prime:
Om is to be read, Om to be lived
With OM alone, the Knowable is known.]

Vaakh No. 207

(Kaul-211/Wancho)

kath haa vanai kath haa vanai
kath maa'ny layii laal
manz maa'daanas nendu'r peyii
ddomb hyath tsalii shaal

[Come I'll tell: come I'll tell
This telling is worth a jewel:
In the open plain, asleep you lie
A jackal, your entails, would hie.]

Vaakh No. 208

(Kaul-213/Wancho)

dwh taaru' dunyaahas lool[260] borum
patav zoonum keenh natu' kyah
haavu'su' lali me a'limah porum
paru' paru' korum puurum nu' zaanh

[For a few days, the world I cherished
Then I saw it came to naught
The sciences, I did eagerly learn
I read much but mastered it not.]

Vaakh No. 209

(Kaul-214/Wancho)

pru'nu'vuneev luukan chhukh pru'naan
paanas chhuy nu' gatshaan kanan
yithu' paa'tthy puj chhii naattu' ku'naan
paanas nu' pooshaan paku' monddy tu'kan

260 Wancho 149: *'tama maali', a'lim* (Kaul)

pru'naan - preacher; *pru'nu' vunyeev* - you preach to people

[O preacher, to others you preach
Nothing thy own self do teach;
Like a butcher, selling the meat,
You're left only with skull, ears, feet.]

Vaakh No. 210

(Kaul-215/Wancho)

paras haa maali porum tu' paanas vunum
vanu' kas Lali chhu me paanas rah
vaay goom dilas me kyah korum
kunuy aa'sith sorum[261] nu' zaanh

[Others I lectured and my self told:
Who shall I tell, Lal herself is to blame!
My heart did cringe, oh what I've done:
One I was but never did ken!]

Vaakh No. 211

(Kaul-216/Wancho)

yus hoo maali hyaddyam geelyam maskharii karyam
su hoo maali manas kharyam nu' zaanh
Shiv panun yeli anu'greeh karyam
luuku' hyaddun me karyam kyah

[He who doth mock me, chaff, scoff, rail,
Him my mind shall never abhor:
His own grace, if Shiva grants me;
The leers of laity won't matter.]

261 Another rendering is "*zoonum*" (Kaul, page 287)

Vaakh No. 212

(Kaul-217/Wancho)

vadnu' suu'ty gaash hoo marii
vadnu' madun meelii na zaanh
man kar safaa zeeri aki meelii
yimoo shaalu' ttungav neeri nu' keenh

[Weeping the sight of eyes you'd lose;
Weeping, the loved one you'll never reach;
Clear thy mind, you'll find (Him) with ease;
Nothing doth come of barking: 'cease'!]

Vaakh No. 213

(Kaul- 124/Anand Kaul-26/Wancho- 68)

kunyar hai boozakh kuni noo roozak
kuniran kornam hunii aakaar
kunuy aa'sith dwn hund jang goom
su beerang[262] goom ka'rith rang

jang – Persian word meaning battle (Feeroozul lugaat); *Dwn hund jang* – the conflict of *aham* (I-ness) and *idam* (this-ness) which leads to differentiation.

[If oneness you ken, you'd cease to be,
Oneness has turned me into a dog;
Though I was one, the two-ness tore me:
That un-coloured one, has tricked me good]

262 *Beerang* is a Persian formulation meaning 'without colour'. It could not have been of Lal's make. Taking it as *rang* (colour) and *bee-rang* (colourless) is making the vaakh supurious. *'Rang'* is the Sanskrit for 'drama', 'play'. However, *bee-rang* cannot be construed as play-less; it'd also make the later part meaningless. The vaakh is too interpolated to yield clear meaning. In an irony of antithesis, it takes the Persian-Sanskrit conjoint *'bee-rang'* as the antonym of Sanskrit *'rang'* (play) yielding a mongrel expression: the play-less one has tricked me good'!

Vaakh No. 214

(Grierson Appendix I/Kaul-151)

keentsan dyutu'tham oorai aalav
keentsav rachaayi naalai vyath
keentsan a'chh laji mas chath taalav
keentsan pa'pith gai haalav khyath[263]

[Some You Yourself've given the call,
Some, the Vyath did try to stall,
Some stare up in drunken stupor,
Some found the locusts had devoured all!]

Vaakh No. 215

(Grierson Appendix I/Kaul-152)

keentsan rani chhai shihij buunii[264]
neerav nyabar shihul karav
keentsan rani chhai baru' pyatth huunii
neerav nyabar tu' zang kheyav
keentsan rani chhai adal tu' vadal
keentsan rani chhai zadal tshaay[265]

[Wives, to some, are a chinar cool,
To saunter out and sit in the shade;
Wives, to some, are bitches unleashed,
Out you venture, the legs they bite;
Wives, to some, are discord bidden
Wives to some are shadows ridden.]

263 Kaul (page 242) adds these two notes:

i. Nuurnaamu' No. 246 gives the middle two lines as: "*keentsan rau'sy ga'yi naalai Vyath/ keentsan mas chyath a'chh laji taalav.* (Some saw Vyath, shrink to a stream/some stare up in a drunken stupor).

ii. Knowles has added another couplet to this *vaakh*: *keentsan dyutu'tham yuut kihoo totuy /keentsan dyutu'tham yot na tu' tot kyah* (Some you did give sans a limit/ Some you gave neither here nor there.) I too, feel that it is of Shaikh".

264 Should be '*hooni*' to agree with plural '*rani*' - wives

265 *Tshey* - thatch-roof, Kaul's note (Page 242)

Vaakh No. 216

(Kaul-142/Anand Kaul-9)[266]

buthi kyah jaan chhukh vwndu' chhuy ka'nii
asu'lu'ch kath zanh sa'nii noo
paraan leekhaan vutth ongu'j ga'jii
a'ndrim duyii zah cha'jii noo

[Thy face is fine but heart stone-hard,
The truth you did never regard:
Reading-n-writing, thy fingers wore out;
The dualism within, you did not rout.]

Vaakh No. 217

(Kaul-204)[267]

saahyab chhu bihith paanu' dukaanas
saa'rii mangaan keentshaa dih
rott noo kaa'nsihund raa'chh no vaaṇas
yi tse gatshii ti paanai nih

[The Sire Himself in the shop sits:
All are abegging, 'bestow a thing'!
None doth hinder; no guards see!
Take thou what here suits thee!]

266 cf. Nuurnaama 150, 151 (Kaul, page 232)
267 *Nuurnaama* No. 198.

Vaakh No. 218

(Kaul-212/Wancho)

khyath ti muudii na khyath ti muudii
adu' zon gonddanakh kruudu'y naar
yim hoo maali handi vwpal haakas pyath ruudii
tim hoo maali adu' muudii nu' zaanh[268]

[Eating ones die, the fasting ones too;
Behold how in anguish they burn:
Those who lived off the simple fare,
They, O dear, did never die.]

Vaakh No. 219

(Kaul-219/Anand Kaul)

naar gatshi su'hun tu' aar gatshi gaalun
ohur gatshi kaddun vwpal hakas tu' handee
had gatshi rattun tu' mad gatshi vaalun
veh gatshi tsaalun tu' atsakh grandee
shuub gatshi kaanchhiny tu' luub gatshi maarun
paan gatshi naavun amii syandee[269]

ohur - bitter part, extracted by boiling; *syand* - river

[Fire you should endure, indignities bear
Bitter core from hand and haak should extract:
Limit thy self, its hauteur shear
Absorb the shock and you'll come into count:
Crave for the grandeur, kill thy greed
Well, thy being, in this water, do knead.]

268 This appears to be of Shaikh Nuurudiin (Kaul)
269 cf. Nuurmaamu' No. 180. This *vaakh* too is clearly of Shaikh Nuurudiin (Kaul, page 289)

Vaakh No. 220

(Kaul-221/Anand Kaul)

nafas ditukh oorai miinith
gatshu'khai tsiinith karakh nu' foot
dam d'v hakas laal zan ziinith
natu' chhuy "kul nafas zaayikul moot"[270]

[The self was measured out from thence,
If you sense that, never will you die;
Cleave to the truth, the jewel you'll gain:!
Else, all birthed ones, to death must hie.]

Vaakh No. 221

(Kaul-218/Anaayat Ulah)[271]

laa ilaa ilaalaa sahii korum
va'hii korum panun paan
vojuud traa'vith moojuud rottum
teli me myuulum laa makaan[272]

[*La ilah ilalaa*, myself I taught
My body, for *vahii*, I did preen:
The virtual I forsook; the real I caught
That's how, to limit-less I did lean.]

270 Nuurnaamu' No. 140. (Kaul, page 291)
271 The source for the *vaakhs* Kaul 218-224 is Biibii Aarifa, of Anaayat Ulah (Kaul, pages 288, 312)
272 *"adu' bu' vootus laamakaan"*. This is of Shaikh Nuurudiin. All *Reshy Naamaas* attribute it to him. (Kaul, page 288)

Vaakh No. 222

(Kaul-220/Anaayat Ulah)

yemy ka'r khụ'mas talu' kam zaagai[273]
tas ga'yi ratas tu' kamas tsaanh[274]
rabaabuk shud yeli yorum siinas
kabaabụ' kani ditsamas panu'ny naatth

[He who kept watch beneath the tent,
His blood and sweat, he did rent;
When, my being, I attuned to *rabaab*
My own flesh I proffered for *kabaab*[275].]

Vaakh No. 223

(Kaul-222/Anaayat Ulah)

tshoonddmakh bavnu' tu' beyi tswn dishan
neeb tu' nishanu' lobmai nu' kunee
tii adu' prutshum saadan tu' reshan
tim la'gy ti buuzith vadni tu' rivnee
dab yeli ditum fikran tu' andeeshan
adu' yeti lobmakh panani garee[276]

[For Thee I looked in space, nooks four
Neither a sign, nor a clue, I found;
Then I asked the *rishii* and the *saaduu*
Hearing me, they began to weep and rue;
My doubts and fears, when I did douse
I found Thee here, in my own house.]

273 cf. Nuurnaamu' No. 165. This too is a *shrukh* of Shaikh Nuurudiin. (Kaul)
274 "tas ga'y a'shis tu' gumas tshaantth" (*ibid*)
275 *Rabaab* is a stringed music instrument, and *kabaab*, a dish of minced meat. Both words are Persio-Arabic.
276 Nuurnaamu' No. 212 (Kaul, page 291)

Vaakh No. 224

(Kaul-223/Anaayat Ulah)

Lal bu' draayas Shiv gaaranee
vuchhum Shiv tu' sheetaan a'kysu'y shayee[277]
sheetaan vuchhum pyatth mimbras
haa'raan ga'yas tamii garee
bu' paa'ry Shivas tu' Shivu' su'ndis garas
bu' Lal maras tu' me kyah karee

[Lal, I set out Shiva to sight,
Shiva and Satan, I saw in one place;
Satan, at the pulpit, stood,
How I was wonderstruck there!
I salute Shiva and Shiva's house
I, Lal, may die and it won't matter.]

Vaakh No. 225

(Kaul-224/Anaayat Ulah)

paanai kaasakh tu' paanai aasakh
paanas nishi labakh nu' soduur
zindu' marakh tu' ma'rith labakh
adu' chon dinai maa'ryfatuk saduur
duyii yod kaasakh suy adu' aasakh
adu' naa thavnai *"an aliim bazaatal saduur"*[278]

277 Its being non-Lal, non-*vaakh* apart, the composition is obnoxious and abusive
278 *an aliim bazaatal saduur* - 'I know all mysteries', Koraan (Kaul, page 365)

[Thy self you'll cure, thyself be;
In thy self you'll find no way:
Living if you die, dead you'll find
They'll grant you the knowing drink
If thy dualism you cure, Him do become,
None may say 'I alone the mystery know']

Vaakh No. 226

(Kaul-225/PN Pushp)[279]

brahmu' burjas pyatth vaatu'noovum
dilachai taari suu'ty dopmas lam
hamsuu traavith suuham[280] proovum
dopnam Lalee a'ty thu'y shram

[I took it to bridge of Brahmaandd,
With heart-strings, I said, now do pull:
Hamsuu forsook, *suuham* espoused;
Lal did tell 'there do shrivel'.]

Vaakh No. 227

(Kaul-226/PN Pushp)

ka'lymai porum ka'lymai sorum
ka'lymai ku'tsum pananuy paan
ka'lymai hani hani mooyan torum
adu' Lal vaa'tsu's laamakaan

ku'tsum - wetted, rinsed

279 The source of vaakhs Kaul 225 & 226 is Prof. P.N. Pushp's article in *kongposh*, reproduced in Kooshur Samaachaar, Lal Dyad Number (Kaul, page 293)
280 *aham sa* (I am He) and *sa aham* (He am I)

[*Kalima* I read; *kalima* I lived,
With *kalima* my body I rinsed;
Kalima seeped to every hair mine
Thus did I Lal, reach the infinite.]

Bimla Raina gives the following reading:[281]

ka'liimu'y doorum ka'liimu'y vyatsoorum
ka'liimu'y kootsum panu'nuy paan
ka'liimu'y ruman ruman porum
adu' Lal vaa'tsu's prakaashasthaan

[*Ka'liim,* the mantar I did adopt and meditate upon
myself I trained for *Ka'liim* through and through
every speck mine with *Ka'liim* I did adorn
thus did I Lal reach the abode of light]

Vaakh No. 228

(Kaul-227/ Mahii-udiin Haajinii)[282]

koosam baagas hyot me atsun
patsii man tu' atsun praav
swruup darshun chhu totuy atsun
kot chhuy gatshun pakun traav

[I tried to enter the garden of narcissus:
Go through if thy mind doth allow
Oneself to view, there one must hop:
Whence are you set, this circling stop!]

281 Seeing Kalima as distortion of the *mantar* Ka'liim (hriim, shriim, ka'liim), Bimla Raina in her work *Laldyad Myaani Nazri* (Hindi version, pages 262-65).

282 The source of vaakhs 227, 228 and 229 is Professor Mahii-uldiin Haajnii's *Kaa'shu'r Shaa'yirii* (Kaul, page 294)

Vaakh No. 229

(Kaul-228/ Mahii-udiin Haajinii)

pavan tu' praan[283] somuy ddyuutthum
miilith ruudum sheerkhwr taam
deh yeli motthum adu' kyah motum
na kuni pavan tu' na kuni praan

[Breath and spirit, the same I saw;
It merged with me from head to foot.
The body when I forgot, naught did abide
There was no spirit, no breath, around.]

Vaakh No. 230

(Kaul-229/ Mahii-udiin Haajinii)

kaamas suu'ty prai noo ba'ru'm
kruudas ditum pavnun feesh
luubas muuhas tsaran tsa'ttim
trishnaa tsa'jim ga'yas khwsh

pavnun feesh – stilled with breath control; *tsaran* – feet, base

[No love for lust did I entertain,
Anger, I blew away with the breath;
Illusion and avarice, when I had slain:
Want was stilled, I was filled with mirth.]

283 *'Praan'* and *'Pavan'* appear to be same, but *'pavan'* i.e. breath is not *'praan'* which is said to circulate throughout the body from head to foot. (Kaul, page 295)

Vaakh No. 231

(Kaul-230/Jalaalii)[284]

abhyaas kinii vyakaas folum
swprakaash zoonum yohai diih
prakaash dhyaanu' mwkhu' yii dorum
swkhu'y borum korum tii

[With practice, my penance flowered;
The innate light in the being did ken;
On light, my self did I concentrate:
I gained peace and ploughed on.]

Vaakh No. 232

(Kaul-231/Jalaalii)

gwru' kath hradayas manzbaag ra'ttu'm
gangi zalu' naa'vim tan tai man
sadeehu' ziivan muktii praa'vu'm
yamu' bayi tsolum poolum akh

sadeehu' -while living; *yamu' bai* – fear of death

[Word of the teacher, heartily did heed
My body and soul, in Gangaa gleaned
Living, with the body, I got freed
Death's fear lost, to One I cleaved.]

284 *vaakh* Kaul 230 (*abhyaas kinii....*) to *vaakh* no Kaul 258 (*Saras suu'tii soodaa korum*) i.e. vaakhs 231-259, a total 29 *vaakhs* are from J L K Jalaalii's *"Lalu' Vaakh"* (Kaul, page 296)

Vaakh No. 233

(Kaul-232/Jalaalii)

paanai aav paanas suu'ty
paanai panun korun vyatsaar
paanai panun paan neechhanoovun
paanai gupun panun paan

gupun - gupith thoovun, to hide

[He came along, with His self,
Himself on His self meditated,
Himself His self he did proffer,
Himself, His self he concealed.]

Vaakh No. 234

(Kaul-233/Jalaalii)

kriyaa karm dharm korum
tiirthan naa'vu'm panu'ny kaay
paapan sombrith basm korum
tati kus oos tai yot kam aay

[The rites and rituals I did observe,
This body mine to *tiirthas* betook,
Gathered all sins, burnt them to ashes:
Who was there and who came here?]

Vaakh No. 235

(Kaul-234/Jalaalii)

manas suu'ty manu'y gonddum
tsyatas ra'ttu'm tsopaa'ry vag
praku'rts suu'ty pwrush volum
saru' me ka'ru'm la'bu'm vath

[This mind, with mind, did I bind,
Desire, I reined in from every side.
The being with the body I did cover.
All did I weigh and found the way.]

Vaakh No. 236

(Kaul-235/Jalaalii)

kathaa buuzu'm kathaa ka'ru'm
kathaayi ka'ru'm tshaa'ry sath
shaastu'r ku'y kathaa buuzu'm
kathaayi baasu'm satu'ch vath

[Tales I heard and tales I told;
The tales gave but empty hope:
Then the scriptures I did hear,
The tales there told of the truth.]

Vaakh No. 237

(Kaul-236/Jalaalii)

puurak, kumbak riichak[285] korum
pavnas traa'vu'm pethy kiny vath
anaahatas basu'm korum
keenha noo motum swy chhai kath

285 The act of pranaayam, *(puurak)* inhalantion, *(kumbak)* holding and *(riichak)* exhalation of the breath.

[Inhale-hold-exhale, I practiced
The breath I led over the top,
My ego, to ashes I did burn;
Nothing was left and that is that.]

Vaakh No. 238

(Kaul-237/Jalaalii)

keenhas pyatthu'y kyah chhu natsun
mwtsii keenh natu' natsun traav
pot fiirith chhuy totuy atsun
yohai vatsun tsyatas thaav

[Why do you, over the nothingness, dance,
See if it abides, else give up the romance
Back there, you have to repair
Take this verse as the axiom fair.]

Vaakh No. 239

(Kaul-238/Jalaalii)

karmuk kul noo chhuy ba'nith gatshun
va'nith gatshun kyah chhuy paay
kashfuk fal chhuy miilith gatshun
va'lith roozun kus chhuy nyaay

kashf - (Arabic) divination; *upaay* - solution

[Action does not end in adversity;
Action doth tell of the remedy:
The fruit of *kashf* is merging indeed,
Why veil thyself; where is the need?]

Vaakh No. 240

(Kaul-239/Jalaalii)

kaayas andar ruudum a'tsith
nyaayas tha'vanam tswpaa'ry shaay
paay keenh lobum noo maay chhas ka'rith
zaayas nu' aayas logum naav

kaayaa - body; *shaay* - space, excuse: (the embodied one entered the body and caused a lasting conflict, *nyaay*).

[Inside my body, he took a seat
Leaving the beat, free for strike;
No remedy I found, here still I bide;
Soon as I came, a name I got!]

Vaakh No. 241

(Kaul-240/Jalaalii)

zagas andar kaa'tyah paa'lim
saa'rii chii tshaanddaan dayi su'nzu' vath
chhi manzu' a'kis dayaa zaa'nim
maa'nim da'pyzi Iishvar gath

[Countless in this world I reared,
All searching for a way to divine:
then, piety I found In a single flash,
And, followed it as the Lordly line!]

Vaakh No. 242

(Kaul-241/Jalaalii)

gaayitrii azapaa tshalu' aki taa'jim
suuham satu'chii ka'rmas thaf
ahamas lot paa'tthy zatthru'y vaa'jim
gooru' kath paa'jim tsaa'jim tsakh

[Voiceless *Gaayatrii*, I trapped in a trice,
With the truth of *suuham*, held it firm:
Aham, quietly I pinioned, pestered;
Guru I followed, and bore the gall.]

Vaakh No. 243

(Kaul-242/Jalaalii)

kwl tai mwl kath kyut chhuy
tot kyut chhuy shaant swbhaav
krayi hund aagur vati kyut chhuy
antihi kyut chhuy gwru' sund naav

kwl tai mwl - family and reputation

[What is the use of Family and wealth?
Contentment is enough, there for.
The ritual is just to lead to the path,
Guru's is the only aid in the end.]

Vaakh No. 244

(Kaul-243/Jalaalii)

shraan tai dhyaan kyah san karii
tsyats ratth trakree vag
manas tu' pavanas milvan karu'y
sahazas manz kar tiirith saan

[The ritual bath and prayers won't help;
Hold thy senses on a tight leash.
Merge thy mind and breath into one;
Bathe thy being in the shrine of Truth.]

Vaakh No. 245

(Kaul-244/Jalaalii)

praanas suu'ty lai yeli ka'ru'm
dhyaanas tsa'nim tu' rooznas shaay
kaayas andar sooruy vuchhum
paayas poovum ka'ddmas graay

praan - vital force; *dhyaan* - concentration; *kaay* - body; ***tsa'nim*** - gave; *graay* - rinse

[When with *praana* I became one
No chance I left for *dhaanya* to cease;
All I saw within the body itself,
Thus brought round, I rinsed it clean.]

Vaakh No. 246

(Kaul-245/Jalaalii)

manas graay tsa'j pazikuy an khyoom
tavkuy bal goom ka'rmas krai
aagur vaa'tith amratu' zal choom
chholuy[286] man goom ba'rmas prai

[My mind got stilled, I took the true food,
The firming divine, with action confirmed:
Reaching the font, ambrosia I drank
My mind engrossed, I loved it more.]

Vaakh No. 247

(Kaul-246/Jalaalii)

kaayas bal chhuy maayas zaagun
praanas bal chhuy shabd swruup
aayas bal chhuy tatva vyad zaanun
gyaanas bal chhuy aadi ant taany

286 Ambiguous word, possibly distorted. Relating it *chhivun* (to become overly eager) teases the meaning. It becomes meaningful if it be *Shivu' layi* (got engrossed in Shiva).

maayas zaagun - to be cautious of attachments

[Food for the body is vigilant sense;
Food for *praana,* is the true sound;
Food for life is to ken the elements,
Feeding the knowledge is a lasting end.]

Vaakh No. 248

(Kaul-247/Jalaalii)

gagnas bhuutalas Shiv yeli ddyuutthum
ravas labi nu' roozu'nas shaay
siryiiki prabhaavu' vishmai zoonum
zal gwv thalas suu'ty miilith kyah

vishva - the world, in the whole creation; *vish* - poison (*vishmai* - filled with poison); *gagnas bhuutalas* - sky and ether; *zal* - *jal,* water; *thal* -land; *rav* - the sun

[In earth-n-ether, when Shiva I saw
No space to hide I found under the Sun
With the power of Sun the vicious I kenned[287]
And, Lo! The land and water become one!]

Vaakh No. 249

(Kaul-248/Jalaalii)

vaavu'ch graayaa paanas vuchhim
vaanas ddiitthim soori rangu' vas
dhyaanas andar damu' damu' miilu's
gwnan troovum mutsrith bar

soori rangu' - all kinds; *vas* - articles, goods; *gwnan* - *of the* gunas, *sat raj, tam*

287 Alternatively, the line may mean: *(With sun, world, the poison-weed, I saw)*

[A breezy swerve in my self I saw;
The shop I found with goods all:
By and by, my concentration did hie,
For the *gunaas*, I opened the gate.]

Vaakh No. 250

(Kaul-249/Jalaalii)

roozni aayas gatshun gatshyam
pakun gatshyam vaav luukpaal
keenhas pyatthai natsun gatshyam
atsun gatshyam suuksham prakaar

[I came to stay but out should go;
Ought to move like the west wind:
Atop the void, I sought to dance
I ought to enter as the subtle core.]

Vaakh No. 251

(Kaul-250/Jalaalii)

vaakh syad tshoh dith mwkhas biitthu'm
swkhas ddiitthu'm roozanas shaay
dwkhas andar nendiir miitthu'm
bwd yeli ziitthum miitthu'm kath

vaakh syad – word prowess, whatever is uttered comes to be

[The oracle dived and sat on my oris;
A space I spied for ease to stay:
The sleep, in distress, I found sweet
Wisdom whetted, my talk grew sweet.]

Vaakh No. 252

(Kaul-251/Jalaalii)

shilaayi hu'nzu'y vwtamaa ba'zu'm
sombrum ttyok poosh aasan patth
manas andar vyatsaar korum
vuchhum tu' ddyuuthum sheel kani vatth

[Soul in the rock, I did worship,
Took flowers, vermilion and the seat
In my mind, over it, I pondered
Rock and stone I saw was the same.]

Vaakh No. 253

(Kaul-252/Jalaalii)

zalu' pyatthy pakun thyakun luukan
naaras atsun maaras vyad
aakaash gamanoo vufun aasun
kapatt baasun aasun tsyath

[Walking over water is an act to boast,
Entering fire is courting the death,
With power to fly the ether you may roam:
False is this fancy; to be ken the Truth!]

Vaakh No. 254

(Kaul-253/Jalaalii)

Omkaar shariir kiival zoonum
shabd ruup ras gandh suu'ty hyath
aatm swruup su paanai oosum
param twth doorum sheeras pyatth

[Body, I reckoned as the OM manifest,
Sound, shape, taste, odor, holding the core.
The True One, He alone, ever, was:
The primal truth, on my head, I held.]

Vaakh No. 255

(Kaul-254/Jalaalii)

zanam praa'vith karam soovum
dharam poolum swy chham sath
neetran andar pryam doorum
tsoorum tu' moonum yohai akh

soovum - practiced; *neetran* - *neetar* - *a'chh*, eyes

[Having been birthed, *karma* I pursued,
Followed *dharma* and that is my succor;
Love I held out from eyes mine,
Thus I chose; in Oneness did trust.]

Vaakh No. 256

(Kaul-255/Wancho)

swrgas maazun kyah chhuy baasunoo
narkas vaasun aasun duush
tsakh ru'sh naasun shivmai aasunoo
paanai aasun kaasun bhiid

maazun - wish for; *bhiid* - differentiation of *ahm-idam*

[Desiring the heaven is a wish eternal,
Dwelling in hell, a defect essential;
Shiva-hood is, giving up jealousy and gall,
Being one withself, merged in all.]

Vaakh No. 257

(Kaul-256/Wancho)

manas gwn chhuy tsantsal aasun
tsyatas gwn chhuy gatshun duur
ziivas gwn chhuy bwchhi treesh aasun
aatmas gwn chhuy naasun liif

[Mind is wanton, capricious by nature
Conscience by nature doth travel beyond
The birthed is hungry, thirsty by nature
Aatmaa by nature doth tear every bond.]

Vaakh No. 258

(Kaul-257/Wancho)

Shiv tu' Shakt katyuu ddiintthim
timoo ra'ttu'm kaayas jay
daayas dheery sas sanee miitthu'm
tiilith ruuzu'm traa'vith lar

[Where did Shiva-n-Shakti, I see?
They came to dwell in body mine!
My dauntless devotion they did love,
And, seeped into every pore mine.]

Vaakh No. 259

(Kaul-258/Wancho)

saras suu'tii soodaa korum
Haras ka'ru'm gwddu' siivan
sheeras petthy kiny natsaan ddyuutthum
gatshaan ddyuutthum aayam patsh

saras – the lofty one; *haras* – Hari Har; *siivan* – worship

[With mysteries I did make a deal,
But first Hara, the Lord, I served;
I saw Him hovering over my head,
I saw Him leaving, my faith firmed.]

Vaakh No. 260

(Sopori - I: 12)

swn thaav thaji tai hoosh thaav fwkas
loolu'ky naaru' sorus vyatsaar
suy ras sartali vaavat peyii
adu' swn sapadii kundan kaar
chit chee iirnee gyaan ddoku'ree
patti kanas kunii taar

The names of tools mentioned are still used by goldsmiths: *thaj* - crucible; *vaavat* - catalyst; *sartal* - copper etc., impurity in the gold; *kundan kaar* - pure gold; *iiranai* - anvil

[Put the gold into crucible, carefully blow,
In the fire of love, give it good thought;
That catalyst will burn out the bronze
And, the gold will shine forth true.
On anvil of conscience, with the hammer of knowledge
Draw it out into a single thin wire.]

Vaakh No. 261

(Sopori - I: 13)

saraafas nish kahvachi khaarun
ratsi ratsi toolun chhoony maa haar
tsovuhimi baazru' pahaa lugaayii
pu'ntsu'hiimi sapadakh kundan kaar
shatu'vuhimi baazru' mooluum sapdii
paanai graakh tai paanai svarnu'kaar

[Check it out with the dealer of gold,
Weighing every bit, give full weight,
After the gestation of twenty-four days,
On the twenty-fifth you are pure gold
On the twentysixth, you'll know all:
Thou art the smith and the shopper, too.]

Vaakh No. 262

(Sopori - I: 40)

tat-tva prakaash antah sva vanii paanee
vondi sarasvatii, gangaa, yaman
sangam tu' yaman bandee suy naad zan
suy da'pizee sahazaa krai

[The *tatva* truth he himself will tell,
With Sarasvatii, Gangaa and Yamuna,
Conjoined at the confluence like the one sound:
And, that is the worship true.]

Vaakh No. 263

(Sopori - I: 100)

hai hang naad zan vuzaan
gumband vuzaan duu duu dith
svazan ishaaru' suu'tyan boozan
kwzan boozaan damaam dith.

[Celestial music issues forth
The dome reverberates to *duu duu* tune
The knowing one hears it just at a cue
Unknowing with the drum beating full blast]

Vaakh No. 264

(Sopori - I: 121)

uu'tthim tu' shiitthim me ti haavtam
gyaanu' kathan chhuy manuk sooz
kyantsan chhuy nar tu' nar layi praantam
saadas yachh chhuy ati moo rooz

[Pray show me eighth and sixtieth too,
Words of knowledge, soothe the mind;
Some love the world, and it do ride
A *saadu*, there you must not bide!]

Vaakh No. 265

(Sopori - I: 122)

kanpathaa tsiitan gamnas,
kaatsi laa'jnas katham yaaroo;
suy diiv chhuy puur tu' manas:
suy (diiv) gupaan labakh sooruy.

[The Lord roaming through the realm
Has scissored me, how it can stall;
That same Lord fills the land and mind:
Poring on that Lord you will get all.]

Vaakh No. 266

(Sopori - I: 123)

man tsuur maarun ganddun nyashkal
pyandd vattith thaav hii
diiv putraa su vani paanai vendoo
soy da'pizee sahazaa karai

[Kill the mind-thief, resolutely bind,
Roll it into a *pind* and offer out;
Oh, ye divine son, be of firm mind;
That is the worship easeful, true.]

Vaakh No. 267

(Sopori - I: 124)

shurah tu' dah yus sumrith khaaree
dvaadu'shaant andar gumi noo hii
tre shumrith keh maatras praaree
soy da'pizee sahazaa krai.

[He who the ten and sixteen contracts, lifts,
Pushes them into the *dvaadashaant*,
Pauses for a while after every three:
That is the worship easeful, true.]

Vaakh No. 268

(Sopori, I: 125)[288]

avtaal pevtaal kugam tiilith

yi kaar yetii kar goobend khanddaa

yiman gajraa timan gav sharaa

raadhaa yoo bakhtaa chit bavit aatmaa

(All that lives must die, passing through nature to eternity. To overcome evil one has to live a life of righteousness and has to arouse the conscience of the soul. Those who live a life of contentment, have to strive for peace.... To develop such an integrity one has to develop intense, detached love and faith like that of the legendry Love of "RADHA" for Her Love "Lord Krishna." Then only imperfection merges with the perfection and the spirit mingles with the infinite.)[289]

Vaakh No. 269

(Sopori -I: 126)

aataali paataali kugam tiilith

yi goru' ti gor agoor akhanddaa

aasiin gajraa taasiin kajraa

raadhaa bakhtaa tum koon baabaa chal

agoor raakhee bangaalee par

chandda ganddaa barkhaa tum lab jaa jaa, jaa

(I wandered thro the space and round the globe... Oh Lo I saw the grace of the Lord mingled up with the grace of my Guru... O! I have become part of thie eminence. I seem to be a stranger to myself. My attainment is ... like that of the legendry love of "RHADHA" for "Lord Krishna." So no one should object to my moves, for I see my master at the top of my head or Sahasrara beaming the sensors of brain... Likewise O blessed one arise awake and go for finding the bliss of Super Consciousness that I have met with.)[290]

---

288 The text of these new Vaakhs is from **Lall Vaakh** volume I and Volume II of B N Sopori, as indicated for each.
289 This is what Sopori has given as the meaning in English (vol. I, page 135)
290 This is what Sopori has given as the meaning in English (vol. I, pages 136-37)

Vaakh No. 270

(Sopori - II: 8)

kyah karu' kaangu'ri pan tsu'ni karinam
ami kaani kwnddili gonddnam naar
kaapee yiyiham tu' kaapi kaddan
kyah karu' chhas tsaalan

[Oh, the fire-pot has burnt me to powder!
Its vessel and wicker has burn me through
Out I'd pull it, if the handle, I could grasp,
But I can't, and have to bear it all.]

This is a virtual recipe for, *Kaangu'r* the Kashmiri fire-pot: *pan-tsu'ni* – the powdery charcoal made from half-burnt leaves (the fallen leaves are gathered, burnt, and doused with water, when they begin to smoulder), *Kaani* – wicker used to make a basket for holding the trough like earthen pot – *kwnddal* – into which the charcoal and ambers are put;*Koop* – the upper handle. *Kaapi hyun* (to catch by handle) and *kaapi kaddun* (to pull out by handle) are phrases meaning 'to grasp' and 'to uproot', respectively.

Vaakh No. 271

(Sopori - II: 9)

dwkh tshu'n traa'vith mwkh va'chh Haras
teli dizi param saras manz thah
tshal zaanun chhuy naar bhavu' saras
tsok zan kadd tul shahmaaras baal

[Shed thy distress, look Hara in the face,
Then alone into the primal ocean dive;
Knowing that the worldly game is a trick
Ken thy base, lift the rock from the serpent]

Vaakh No.272

(Sopori - II: 10)

nav tropraa'vith dyah shomaraa'vith
ka'him ra'ttith kunuy zaan
dubaaru' tsoong yuth nu' gatshii bramuk
adu' kati labakh param dhaam

[Closing in the nine, shrinking the ten,
Hold the eleventh, and know the One;
Heed, lest you should be deluded again
And, held from attaining to the Primal Place?]

Vaakh No. 273

(Sopori - II: 11)

paa'ntsav nishi paa'nts raa'vim
yimav tsuurav ka'rham yiru'vu'ny naav
lagu' kath shaatthas vaatu' kath ghaatthas
manz da'riyaavas laj' mu'ts naav

[The five (good ones)I lost, with the (evils) five,
The thieves have thrown my boat all awry;
Which way can I find, which shore land at,
My boat is stranded in the middle of the river!]

Vaakh No.274

(Sopori - II: 50)

ooru' ti yoorai, yooru' ti oorai
yath dodris kyah sanaa shuub zaanun
gindun chhuy paanu' huri tu' muree
apzis huris haants thaavakh

dodris - decayed body; *hur* - the place where birth takes place, placenta of birth; *muree* - body; *haants* - allegation

[This side is that, and that one this;
The body in decay no grace can own,
Betwixt the birth and death you ply,
If, in the myth called birth, you rely.]

Vaakh No. 275

(Sopori - II: 51)

yemy loduyee chhony kamaani dushar
chhapu'nas tas kanh kuni shaay
yas gov loolas tu' manas hishar
tas kyah kari fikir tu' daay

[He who's strung the short bow with arrows sharp,
No hiding place, he can find, around:
He whose love and mind are one,
No care or constraint, him would confound.]

Vaakh No. 276

(Sopori - II: 55)

tilu'katur, shishargaantth, shin, shraani tu' maani[291]
byon byon sapnii paants
vyamarshu' puury yeli khotuy rav
sa'mith yiman akuy gav

[Ice, icicle, snow, hail and berg:
Separate, the five-some are spun.
With the rising sun from thoughtly side,
They all rejoin and become one.]

291 *tilu'katur, shishargaantth, shin, shraani* and *maani* are forms of frozen water Kashmiris are well acquainted with

Vaakh No. 277

(Handoo-2)[292]

tsyath anti mitra paya soovum
lalanoovum ta boovum na kaa'nsee
Lali gwr Maadhav Shivaya koovum
bu' chhas soovum ta proovum na keenha

[I tamed my mind like a friend at last;
I fondled and moulded it, and revealed to none
I invoke the Lord to seek His guidance and grace
Well on my path am I, away from my goal.]

292 S N Handoo, 2002, Monograph of Anouncement of the Discovery of 47 Newly Found Vaakhs, Siddharth Publications, New Delhi, page 18. The English translation is also from it.

Appendix

The sources of the vaakhs of Lal

[Appendix -1 of Lal Dyad, by J L Kaul and N L Kaul Taalib, 1983, JKAACL, Srinagar (pages 311- 315) Reprinted, JKAACL, 1993.]

1. Laleeshvarii Vaakyaani by Raajanaka Bhaaskar This collection of sixty vaakhs was compiled two and half centuries ago.[293]

2. Lala Vaakyaani- Grierson and Barnet.

This collection has Bhaaskar's 60 and another 49 making a total of 109 vaakhs. Regarding two of these (new vaakhs) we can now reliably say that they are not of Lal Dyad viz. Vaakh No 99 (*gaafiloo hu'ku kadam tul....*) and No.100 (*daman byasti ditoo dam....*). These two vaakhs are actually compostion of a poet named Aziiz Khaan. Excluding these, there are 47 new vaakhs in this collection.

3. Appendix to Lala Vaakyaani. In this appendix, Grierson includes 15 vaakhs from J Hinter Knowles' book 'Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs, which have now become proverbs (cf. Knowles pages 18, 20, 46, 47, 56, 57, 102, 150, 201) of these one (*aayee vaanis ga'yi kaandris...*) is not a vaakh but a proverbial saying. Four vaakhs *dilukis baagas duur kar gaasil...., sodras noo labii saa'yil...., gaafiloo hu'ku' kadam tul... and daman basti ditoo dam...* have been inaccurately assigned to Lal. (Ref Nuurnaama, JKAACL, preface page 19-20). Besides these the three vaakhs *aayas vatee gaayas vatee...., damii ddiithum nad viihvanii...* and *damii ddiithum ga'j dazu'vanii* already

293 Lal Dyad, was written in 1962. Jayalal Kaul revised the work in 1975 and 1983, before his death in 1985. Accordingly, '250 years ago' could imply anywhere between 1700-1730CE. The total number of vaakhs attributed to Lal in the last edition (1983) is 258, all of which have been included here.

figure in Grierson's collection under nos. 98, 96, and 97 respectively. Another *keentsan dyutu'thum yuut....*, is of two lines and not a four-line vaakh. In fact, Knowles has entered it among other sayings, beginning with the word *keentsan*. Deleting these 6 vaakhs, we are left with 6 [of the 15 vaakhs of Appendix] which can be called new.

4. Lala Yoogeeshvarri- Pandit Anand Kaul.

The author after much searching obtained 75 more vaakhs which are not found in Grierson's collection. Of these 9 vaakhs (4, 14, 15, 23, 28, 29, 37, 38, and 46) consist of eight lines instead of four and comprise two vaakhs each. They have been given as separate vaakhs in this [Kaul's lal Dyad] book. Accordingly, these are 84 not 75 vaakhs, here.

5. Vaakh Laleeshvarii.

This collection has two editions. One carries the Urdu translation by P A K Wancho and another English translation by Sarvaanand Charaagii, along with vaakhs. It has a total of 200 vaakhs, of which 180[294] are found in the [4] collections given above. Hence only 20 (twenty) are new vaakhs, which stand included in this book[295] u/nos 12, 52, 69, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 100, 102, 108, 111, 149, 154, 158, 173, and 189.

6. *Biibii Lala Aarifa*, Edited Haafiz Muhammad Anaayatullah. It carries 10 vaakhs as representative vaakhs of Lal. Only seven are new. These have been included in this collection u/nos 218-224.

7. *Kalaami Lala Aarifa* Ed. Kaazii Nizaamndiin Khaanyaarii. It carries 50 vaakhs as sample, all of which are included in above preceding [6] collections.

8. *Kaa'shu'r Shaa'yirii* Prof. Mahii-udiin Haajnii. Samples of Lalu' vaakh are given in this work on pages 3-5. Of these three, *koosam baagas hyot me atsun....*, *pavan tu' praan somuy ddyuutthum...* and *kaamas suu'ty prai noo ba'ru'm...*, are new.

9. *Kashmiirii Zabaan Oor Shaayirii* vol II (pages 112-141) Abdul

294 The text says '80' which,however, may be a printing mistake.
295 i.e., Lal Dyad, J L Kaul, 1983, JKAACL, Srinagar.

Ahad Azad. It carries 38 vaakh as representative composition, but none of them is such as not found in the above works.

10. *Kaa'shu'r Adbu'ch Taa'riikh* vol 1 (pages 145-163) Avtaar Krishan Rahbar. It carries 34 vaakhs. Besides these, another 12 vaakhs are given in other pages, making a total of 36. However, none save one on page 162 is new. This too is a vatsun of 13 couplets not a vaakh. It cannot be a compostion of Lal. The first and last couplets are: *"Zyanu' broontth aadmas zyan saa'r masa loolu'kii mai sapzu's faan Lalu tot vaa'tith anaa dopmasu'......."*

Possibly the last word in line three was dopnasu' which got mis-written as *'masu'* and came to be assigned to Lal.

11. *Lal Dyad* (JKAACL) Prof Jiya Lal Kaul and Nand Lal Kaul Taalib [1ST Edition]. It is a selection of 135 vaakhs, none of which is new.

12. Lal Dyad Special, *Kooshur Samaachaar* (Kashmir Samiti, Kashmir Bhavan, New Delhi) It contains a total of 161 vaakhs. The first 135 vaakhs are the same as those in Lal Dyad above, (No. 111) given in the same serial. The remaining 36 vaakhs are also found in the collections detailed above. Hence no new vaakh there. However, the Deev Naagri part of the publication carries a paper by Prof P N Pushp (taken from *Kongu' Poosh*). It gives two vaakhs as examples which are new: *brahmu brujas pyatth vaatu' noouum.... And kalimai me porum, kalimai me sorum.* [These stand entered in Kaul's Lal Dyad u/no 225, and 226]

13. *Taariikhi Kabiir,* Haajii Mahii-udiin Miskiin. It contains the following *shlookas* as representative compositions of Lal (.... Ten *shlookaas* numbered 1-10) All these ten vaakhs are found in the collections given above.

14. Lalu' Vaakh by J L Kaul Jalaalii (published 1959). It carries a total of 38 vaakhs which the author terms new, but six of these (nos 4, 15, 22, 29, 31, and 38) are already recorded in Anand Kaul's Lala Yoogesshvarii. Apart from these six, three more vaakhs (nos 6,13,14,) are included in the *kaa'shu'r shaa'yirri intikhaad* by Mahii-uddin Haajinii. Taking these nine out, 29 vaakhs are left, which

can be called new. [These included/stand in Kaul's Lal Dyad u/ nos 230-258.]

15. *Lal Vaakh*, 4 parts, Goopii Nath Raina. These four parts carry a total of 93 vaakhs. Of which 25 are found in Lalu' Vaakh Jalaalii and the remaining 68 in other books mentioned above. Hence, there are no new vaakhs there.

On page 325 Kaul adds another Book.

16. The Ascent of Self (English) B.N Parimoo (Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1978). It contains 101 vaakhs and their English translation..... The first vaakh is a saying not a vaakh: *hondd maaran yaa katth Lali niluvath tsali nu' zaanh...*

[To bring this very import account upto date, we add here an account of vaakh collections published after 1983.]

17. Voices of Experience (Lall Vaakh of Lall Dyad/ Lalleshori of Kashmir, India) - B N sopori, two volumes. The year is not given but an introductory letter carries the date 30 April 1999. Presumably, the work was puplished in 1999 or 2000. It is in two volumes. Volume I contains 154 vaakhs and volume II 74 vaakhs, giving a total of 228 vaakhs in both volumes. There is an error in numbering on the index, with one vaakh 60 repeated under index nos 125 &133. However, with vaakh no 76 entered under index number 137-A the full number of vaakhs are restored to 154. Of these 15 are not found in Kaul's Lal Dyad and hence are new. These are vaakhs nos 121, 125, 126, 122, 123, 12, 13, 51, 124, 40, 114, 41. These have been entered u/no's 259 - 277 in this encyclopedia.

18. Lalleeshvari Vaakyaanii, Pandit Amar Nath. It is titled "Monograph of Anouncement of the Discovery of 47 newly found vaakhs of Lal Dyad and Sir Edvin Arnold's English translation so far unpublished, of 120 vaakhs embodied in Pandit Amar Nath's Lalleeshvarii Vaakkyaanii by Shri Nath Handoo". It also carries facsimile of 4 vaakhs which are also given on pages 17-18. These in the words of author have been "culled at random from the work". They carry numbers 123, 127, 128, 134. Of these four, only one i.e no 127 (*tsyath anti mitrapaya soovum....*) is not found in the Kaul's Lal

Dyad, and has been accordingly added here u/no 287. The remaining 43 'new vaakhs' are yet to be opened to public.

19. Lalu' Prakaash, Pandit Premnath Shastri, (Pt. Premnath Shaastrii Sanskritik Shoodh Sansthaan, 2011, Jammu.) It contains 116 vaakhs based on a compilation of Ram Shastri. It carries no new vaakhs. Unfortunately it also includes *vaakhs* like *dilukis baagas duur kar*... etc., which for the last thirty or so years have been known to be the compostion of Aziiz Khaan and not Lal.

20. *Laldyad Myaani Nazri* by Bimla Raina, the well known poetess of vaakh was published in 2007, in both Nastaaliiq and Deva Nagari scripts. The work rewrites 79 vaakhs of Lal in what would, according to Bimla Raina, have been the original diction of the *vaakhs* of Lal Dyad. The readings of Bimla Raina are based on the 1972 Lal Dyad Special Number of Kooshur Samaachaar, published from New Delhi. While *Laldyad Myaani Nazri* does not carry any new *vaakh*, the readings amply illustrate that there can be no doubt of the attrition and alteration which the *vaakhs* of Lal have suffered in public tongue and Persian script.



Free-lance writer and columnist, **R L Bhat** has been editorial consultant, editor and lead writer in the major English language papers of the state. He is president of Samprati, the Jammu-based organisation of Kashmiri writers and recipient of awards of excellence in writing and journalism.

Dr Bhat has published hundreds of articles, papers, and reviews in leading English dailies and journals of the state and country. His published works include ***Randomly Around India, Randomly Around Kashmir,*** collections of his columns, ***Faith Besieged*** an account of the antiquity of Shrii Amarnaathji shrine, ***Paraa Praveeshikaa,*** a translation of the 12^{th} century Sanskrit introduction to Kashmir Shaivism written by Kheema Raaja, Abhinava Gupt Paad's chief disciple and **Azad, The Poet Of Lool**, an English translation of the major poems of Abdul Ahad Azad. His book ***Rationalised Roman for Kashmiri***, has been widely appreciated as an original work of ingenuity to standardize the English Alphabet for writing Kashmiri, Hindi/Urdu etc.

Lal And Her Vaakh

An Encyclopeadic Collection

Shiti Kantth is the first poet of Kashmiri. His Mahaanai Prakaash is a treatise of profound philosophical vaakhs, preserved in its original form to this day. Shiti Kantth is known to just a few people, among the literate Kashmiris. In sharp contrast stands the next poet Lal – Lal Dyad, Lalu' Maa'j, Laleeshvarii. She is the first people's poet of Kashmiri language.

Lal is known and loved for her vaakh. That is how we know of her; save her vaakh, we know next to nothing about Lal. Yet we have many tales, in fact too many tales, of her activities, most of which got 'known' during the last two centuries. One author conjured up seven rebirths for her. Some had her feed and lead, poets born long after her. Others had her debate subtleties with seers who came to Kashmir, decades after her death.

This is as good a measure of her appeal as one could get. But it is a tricky tract. With her vaakh as the sole link to Lal, the body of vaakh is as important, as the poet herself. With her vaakh became so popular that it was a test of poetic prowess. Poets, in the centuries following her, wrote vaakh, most after a line or so of hers. Lalu' vaakh become a genre of sorts. It also confounded Lal with extraneous poesies, whether good or bad, polluting her vaakh.

This work is an attempt to reach Lal. That route lies through her vaakh. Here one must first see what has been given out as the body of her vaakh. Next, it has to be sifted for the real Lal. Some are easily told for not being genuine. Most are difficult. This would be a long journey. This book collates all 'vaakhs of Lal' and puts them in order of appearance. It gives the original Kashmiri text, in English alphabet in a reader-friendly modification, the Rationalized Roman for Kashmiri (RRK), devised by R L Bhat. It also provides a succinct translation of the vaakhs. It also indexes the vaakhs, as per the source and antiquity.

Gulshan
BOOKS
KASHMIR
gulshanbooks.com
Cover Art By Thotz Media Inc

ISBN 978-81-8339-291-4
₹1495
9 788183 392914
US$31.99